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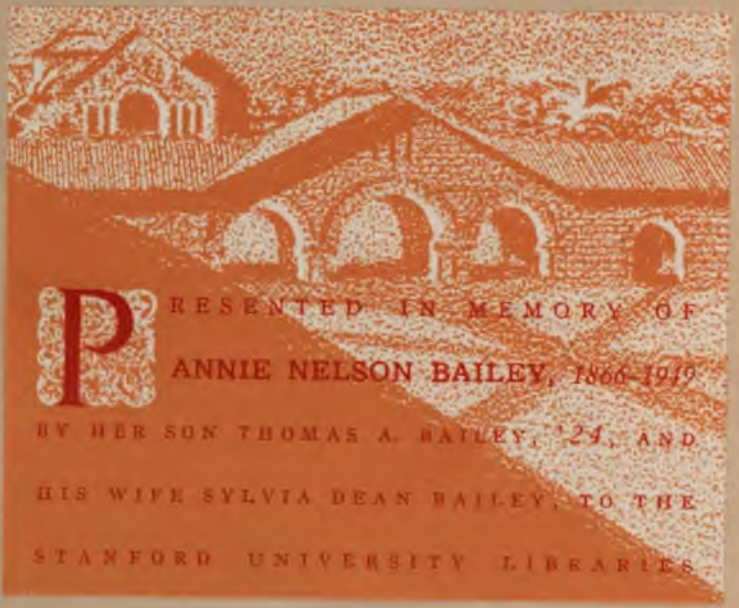
Hon. Latimer W. Ballow L.L.D.

With the kindest regards of

Lucy H. Ballow.

Jan. 15. 1891.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Adin Ballou

MEMORIAL OF ADIN BALLOU

CONTAINING

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH, SOME ACCOUNT OF THE FUNERAL SERVICES, TRIBUTES FROM FRIENDS, AND CONDENSED NOTICES OF THE PUBLIC PRESS

ALSO

A SERMON

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF TO BE READ AT HIS OWN FUNERAL

CAMBRIDGE
Printed at The Riverside Press
1890

"Mark the perfect man and behold the upright."

"They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever."

"When the ear heard me then it blessed me, and when the eye saw me it gave witness unto me. Because I delivered the poor that cried and the fatherless and him that had no helper. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me, and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. I was eyes to the blind and feet was I to the lame; I was a father to the poor, and the cause I knew not I searched out."

"The memorial of virtue is immortal, because it is known with God and with men. While it is present men take example of it, and when it is gone they earnestly desire it. It weareth a crown, and triumpheth forever."

"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

"I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith."

"Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven."

"The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance."

Of the two portraits of Mr. Ballou which appear in this volume, the first — fronting the title-page — is a steel engraving, copied from a photograph taken about 1854, and represents him as he was in mid-life when engaged in his most arduous labors at Hopedale, and as he will be remembered by many of his older friends; the second — following the Biographical Sketch — is a lithotype, reproduced by W. P. Allen, of Gardner, from a negative taken in 1888, showing him at an advanced age and as he appeared during the last years of his earthly pilgrimage.

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ADIN BALLOU.

I.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

AT an early hour on the morning of August 5, 1890, the announcement was made from a modest cottage in the central village of the town of Hopedale, Mass., that one of its occupants, Rev. Adin Ballou, whose life for some days had been slowly ebbing away, had passed through the gateway of death to the heritage of immortality. As the inhabitants of that peaceful country hamlet rose from their slumbers, and proceeded to their accustomed pursuits on that bright summer day, they received the sad, unwelcome message with palpitating hearts and tear-dimmed eyes, feeling a deep sense of personal bereavement in the conscious loss of one of the kindest and best of friends, and grieving that they should see his familiar form and his benignant face in their midst no more. And so it was with others beside, scattered abroad through the community and land, as the telegraph and mail conveyed to them the sorrowful tidings that this man, whom they had known but to honor and love, had gone from his long and useful labors here below to the rest and reward of the faithful on high. A great multitude there were, near by and far away, who would unite in deploring his disappearance from the

scenes of earth and time, and in pronouncing blessings on his name and memory.

And so it might well be. For it was no ordinary man whose life on the earth had at length come to an end, — no common human being who had now exchanged the decaying garments of flesh and sense for the shining robes of immortality. Created of the same clay of which we all are composed, he was, to be sure; and possessing only the same native powers of mind and heart and soul which distinguish all classes and conditions of men alike, he yet made such use of his endowments, he so consecrated them all to noble ends and aims, as to become one of the noteworthy men of his age, renowned for his pure and elevated spirit, for his many virtues, for his all-sided, symmetrical character, for his multiform labors for the truth of God and the welfare of mankind. Withdrawn somewhat from public gaze during his recent more advanced years, he nevertheless is to be regarded as a prominent figure in the moral and religious history of New England during the current century, — an important factor in the development of the higher and better life of the community at large at the present day.

Entering the Christian ministry at the instance of a divine call, as he sacredly believed, before he had attained his majority, he soon became a convert to "the larger hope" that has characterized the so-called Liberal branches of the church, rising to be one of its leading champions during what may be denominated the theologically controversial era of the century. Baptized early with the spirit of Christian philanthropy and brotherhood, he has been identified with most if not all the great moral reforms which have agitated the New England mind and appealed to the New England conscience during the last sixty years, and has devoted himself stu-

diously and assiduously throughout that period to the work of applying the spirit and principles of the gospel of Christ to all human concerns in all the relations of life, and of thus building up the kingdom of God on the earth.

Moreover, it may be truthfully said that, for an equal length of time, Adin Ballou has been the leading personage, the central figure, of the general community in which he has resided, — a community extending through and including nearly a score of towns in southern Massachusetts and in contiguous portions of Rhode Island and Connecticut, — and has exerted an influence for good, there and elsewhere, that can never be estimated. Widely known, and as widely loved, revered, and admired, he lived and died without an enemy, and is remembered with tender interest and grateful appreciation by the thousands and tens of thousands whom, at one time or another of his long pilgrimage of nearly fourscore years and ten, he has instructed, uplifted, inspired, comforted, solaced, and blessed. The public press, at home and abroad, has proclaimed, since his decease, his superior ability, his transcendent moral worth, his preëminently useful and disinterested life, and has crowned him with distinguished, but by no means undeserved or exaggerated honor. And individuals of acknowledged judgment and character, who have known him long and well, have added their testimony in the same behalf to that of the public press, weaving choice garlands for his brow, and embalming him as an example and inspiration to coming generations.

Such, in general terms, was the man who passed away that summer morning, and of whom this book is a humble Memorial; such the man whose career and character are portrayed in these pages, condensed from the complete and voluminous biography (in manuscript) written by

himself, which is virtually a history of the great religious and reformatory movements wherewith his name has been identified, and which at no distant day will be made accessible to his friends and to the public.

Adin Ballou belonged by birth and lineage to that middle class in society, composed of honest, industrious, sturdy, self-reliant yeomanry, whence have sprung in whatever land or age the great majority of those who have gained distinction by their eminent virtues and effectual labors for truth and righteousness, and thus made their names fragrant to a grateful posterity. His family, beyond all reasonable doubt, was of Norman French origin, though early transplanted to English soil. One Guinebond Ballou is said to have been a marshal in the army of William the Conqueror, and to have fought in the memorable battle of Hastings, October 14, 1066, receiving from his chief, in recognition of his services, extensive estates in the subsequent division and distribution of the lands of the kingdom. At a later date, people bearing the name, and presumed to have been descendants of the marshal, resided in the counties of Sussex and Devonshire, some of whom had large possessions and rose to distinguished privileges and honors. It is probable that the American branch of the family migrated from one of these localities, although long-continued researches on both sides of the sea have failed, thus far, to trace it to its ancestral stock in the mother country.

The first of the name in New England, so far as has been ascertained, was Maturin Ballou, an associate and co-laborer with Roger Williams in the founding of Providence, R. I., his name appearing in the annals of that undertaking as early as 1646. Of his four sons, only three lived to mature years, married, and had children. The second of these, named James, had a son James, who

left the Providence Plantation and settled in what afterwards became the town of Cumberland, in the northeast corner of the State. This James was succeeded by his son Ariel, the father of a second Ariel, who married, first, Lucina Comstock, and had six children, and, second, Edilda Tower, by whom he had two more, both of them sons.

Adin Ballou was the elder of the last-mentioned, and was born April 23, 1803. He had to begin with a delicate and frail bodily constitution, superinducing frequent attacks of sickness in his childhood, some of which seriously threatened his life. However, he grew more healthy and more enduring with advancing years, becoming at length a fine impersonation of manly strength, vigor, and comeliness. Of a temperament corresponding to his physical condition, he was sensitive and excitable, easily annoyed and irritated by provocation, yet in no wise refractory or difficult of management, yielding readily to parental and other proper authority, and responding heartily to kind treatment, by whomsoever shown to him. He was, moreover, of happy disposition and socially inclined, making friends with the employés on the farm and others with whom he came in contact, and becoming a general favorite with all classes of people as he grew up and enlarged the circle of his acquaintanceship. He very early learned, he says, that "trifling investments of courtesy and kindness yielded good returns," a lesson he never forgot.

The father of Adin Ballou was an industrious, thrifty farmer, and the son was brought up after the manner of the average farmer's boy of his time. In the household, and throughout the entire domain, work was the fundamental law. A large landed estate of more than two hundred acres with a saw-mill besides, and all that was incident thereto, including a family of eight children, kept every one busy, with little time for idling or amusement.

While yet very young, the lad was put to useful service, and made to contribute in a small way to the common thrift and welfare, thereby forming habits of industry, and developing a sense of personal responsibility and a spirit of self-reliance, which followed and characterized him through life.

At the period under notice, there were few, if any, public schools in the State of Rhode Island, — none in the vicinity of the Ballou homestead. A private one had been established there some years before, poor in quality and brief in continuance, being open only six weeks in summer, and scarcely longer in winter. To this, Adin was sent when a small child, before he could, in later life, clearly remember. He soon began to love his school and his books, and when six years old a conscious desire for knowledge, and an ambition to excel in his studies, had been awakened in his breast. These served him well in place of genius, of which he claimed to have none, and enabled him to put to good and effectual use those intellectual gifts with which he was fairly endowed by nature and Providence, though, as has been suggested, not above and beyond multitudes of others who acquire no worthy reputation in the world and fill no places of eminent service or of honor among their fellow-men. He kept on good terms, for the most part, with his teachers and his schoolmates, was faithful to his tasks, and quick to learn, had a retentive memory, and stood among the first in his class. Easily beaten at play, especially in the rougher sports, few could outrival him in study and schoolroom exercises generally. At ten years of age he had become a good reader and speller, and was well started in grammar and the coördinate branches of learning commonly taught in those days. His thirst for knowledge grew with his growth and strengthened with his strength,

becoming even in his youthful days a passion with him, overruling all other ambitions and desires. His few school privileges, and other equally limited opportunities for gaining instruction, were improved to the utmost, and supplemented by thoughtful self-inquiry, independent research, and orderly mental discipline, which are essential elements of thorough culture, and which, in his case, helped to prepare the way for the acquisition of those vast intellectual stores wherewith in after years his mind, like an immense treasure-house, was filled.

Under this regimen, the youthful student, despite the lack of outward advantages and helps, developed rapidly from his tenth to his sixteenth year, his ruling passion growing ever more intense and irrepressible. His father, thrifty yeoman that he was, in carrying the products of his farm to Providence and disposing of them there, had as a customer Rev. Dr. Messer, then President of Brown University, who manifested much interest in the family of this itinerant vender of vegetables and fruit, inquiring of him from time to time when he was going to send one of his sons to college. Returning home, he would repeat, with some exhibition of parental pride, the conversations he had had with the learned president. To these narrations the boy Adin listened with profound interest, hoping his father would be persuaded to yield to the solicitations of his questioner, and that he himself would be the one to whom the good fortune involved would fall. At length, unable to hold longer in check his impassioned desire, he opened his heart to his father, begging him with most urgent entreaty to allow him to enter the institution of which he had heard so much, and whose privileges he so much wished to share. In urging his plea, he offered to accept the few hundred dollars which the full course of study would then cost as his share of the sup-

posed-to-be large paternal estate. His father at first seemed inclined to grant the request, but finally refused it, saying, "I am too much in debt and cannot afford the expense." So were the hopes and aspirations of the youth in that direction blasted forever in their bud. Later in life he stated that he believed he would have been willing to crawl on his hands and knees to Providence, fifteen miles, could he thereby have had the craving desire of his mind and heart gratified.

During these several years, when the intellectual energies of young Ballou were so active, and his thirst for knowledge so intense and overmastering, his religious nature was by no means dormant or unemployed. The deep impulses of the spiritual instinct within him, the mighty issues involved in the realm of moral being, the eternal realities, — God, man, responsibility, retribution, immortality, — these had even at that early age enlisted his attention, and had already begun to make their impress upon his plastic, receptive nature; they were already moulding his character to lofty ideals and shaping his then future and undreamed-of career. Even at so remote a date, and in so youthful a breast, there were being aroused from their slumbers and marshaled into service the forces that in after years would rise to commanding importance in his thought and conduct, and dominate the trend and movement of his eventful life.

At the time of his birth and for several years afterward, there was little religious interest in the community where Adin Ballou's lot was cast. The forms of piety — church-going and ordinance-observing — were kept up as a habit, or matter of course, without much actual care or concern in respect to the doctrines and duties inculcated in the gospel of Christ and required to be exemplified in personal character. His parents, though highly respecta-

ble and worthy people, were not members of the church, and made no professions of religious faith. A great revival, however, or "reformation," as it was called, took place in the neighborhood when the lad was about eleven years old, a part of a movement which extended through the larger portion of northern Rhode Island, resulting in the conversion of his father and mother, and several older brothers and sisters, all of whom united with the church then newly organized under the auspices and in the fellowship of the "Christian Connection," as the denomination styled itself. Of this church his father was not long afterward elected deacon, acquiring a title thereby which distinguished him thenceforth, as long as he lived.

This "reformation," and what was said and done in connection with it, awakened deep interest and much serious thought in the mind of the lad, who was deemed by his elders too young to be a subject of the renewing grace of God, and so was not regarded as one to whom the work going on in the community in any sense applied. Nevertheless, he pondered, in the silence of his own breast, the things he saw and heard, and by meditation and prayer, unaided and alone, save as God was with him, came to that hour of decision when, once for all, he resolved to lead a Christian life, consecrating himself, in his own inward spirit and purpose, to God in the name of his Son. In doing so, he found, as he states in his autobiography, "a heavenly light beaming upon him and an inexpressible peace coming into his soul." A few months later, his reverent and thoughtful demeanor arrested the attention of the church authorities, who, receiving his confession of spiritual renewal, acknowledged him to be a child of God, and admitted him, according to the established form of baptism by immersion, to their communion and fellowship.

As the excitement attending this experience of the lad

subsided, his clear mind and ingenuous heart came to realize that much which he and others had witnessed and passed through was no part of true religion ; that the step he had taken was at best only the beginning and not the end of the Christian life ; and that there was to be a long and severe conflict, a war of many battles and fluctuating successes, before the spiritual side of his nature would hold securely the sceptre of power in his being. Nevertheless, he did not shrink from that warfare and abandon his chosen purpose, but girded himself for it, entering it with a courageous heart, fighting valiantly, and conquering gloriously in the end.

For a few years subsequent to the experience just narrated, the life of the youth went on in a quiet, uneventful way. He worked hard upon his father's farm most of the time, attending school, however, a few weeks in the winter, and allowing no opportunity for self-improvement to slip by unused. His interest in religious things continued, and he put himself under a somewhat severe regimen of self-discipline, Bible study, pious reading, meditation, and prayer, in order that there might be developed and strengthened within him the higher attributes of his nature, the nobler qualities of the Christian character and life. The death of two of his older brothers when he was in the fourteenth year of his age affected him deeply, giving to existence a more serious and a more sacred aspect than before. He attended church and socially-religious meetings regularly, taking at times some part in the latter by prayer and exhortation, as well as by singing, of which he was always fond. His father, being a leader in the church, often entertained the itinerant ministers of his faith coming to preach on Sunday, or tarrying a few days for pastoral service in that part of the Lord's vineyard. To these men, conversing much on sacred themes, he lis-

tened, quietly for the most part, but attentively, treasuring up what he heard in an honest mind, as food for thought or an incentive to a larger and better life.

When about eighteen years old, the youth, already displaying much of the maturity of a ripened manhood, had a second religious experience, which produced much the same effect upon his career in life — to turn it into a new channel — that the one before referred to had upon his personal character. In the darkness of the midnight hour on a certain occasion, when alone in his chamber and wholly awake, as he always averred, he saw, as in a vision, the form of one of his older brothers, then for five years a dweller in the spirit world, slowly approaching his bedside. As it drew near, every feature of the departed one became perfectly defined. Its aspect was calm and benign, but impressively solemn. When close by the bed, the presence paused, and raising the right hand, said in clear, distinct tones, "Adin, God commands you to preach the gospel of Christ to your fellow-men. Obey his voice, or the blood of souls will be required at your hands." It then withdrew somewhat, and gradually vanished from sight.

The young man took this visitation home to his heart, and without superstition or fear seriously meditated upon it. He could see but one interpretation to be given to it, which was that it was a divine call to the Christian ministry, — a call which, after much deliberation and a severe mental struggle, he felt compelled to accept. He did so against his own natural inclinations, and in contravention of all his cherished hopes and previously laid plans for his coming years. "I could have been won to the profession of law," he says, "to politics, statesmanship, a military career, or perhaps to medicine, but *preaching the gospel* was utterly distasteful and fearful to me. There

was nothing to bring me to it but a sense of duty and the woe of disobedience. It was this that conquered me." And it was this, it may be added, that opened the way to the grand and noble career which crowned his life with distinguished honor, and gives unfading lustre to his name.

It was but a few months after the occurrence just narrated that he, being at a so-called deacons' meeting, held, in the absence of a regular clergyman, at the house of public worship, was forced by an irresistible impulse from within to arise and, with agitated frame and trembling voice, announce that on the following Sunday he would preach in that place. As the words fell from his lips, his strength seemed to forsake him altogether, and he sank back into his seat, overwhelmed with oppressive and suffocating sensations. The audience were astonished at the announcement, and the tidings of it, when the meeting was over, spread like wild-fire through all the region round about.

As a consequence, when Sunday came, the sanctuary was crowded to overflowing. Young and old, from near and far, filled with wonder and strange expectancy, gathered to hear the youthful preacher, who thus, without ecclesiastical call or license or theological training, was to occupy the sacred desk and proclaim the glad tidings of the gospel of Christ. With little forethought or studied preparation, he spoke, mostly by inward impulse and inspiration, from the words, "Necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is me if I preach not the gospel." The service throughout was conducted by himself, and was devout, earnest, and impressive. It was a most exciting and memorable occasion, both to the preacher and to the multitudes assembled before him. He was then eighteen years and three months old.

This first attempt in the pulpit was so successful, and so satisfactory to his elders in the church and to the public, that he at once had invitations to speak in other localities. These he did not feel at liberty to decline. He acquitted himself in his successive labors so much to the acceptance of the ecclesiastical authorities that, at the expiration of three months, in September, 1821, he was accepted as a minister and ordained by the "Connecticut Christian Conference," a body holding jurisdiction over churches of the communion it represented in Rhode Island, as well as in the State whose name it bore. Under its sanction, he began his life-work for God and man. He continued preaching in his own immediate neighborhood and vicinity for a year or more with increasing favor, when a radical change of theological views caused his excommunication from the church to which he belonged, and his deposition from the clerical office. Thereafter new affiliations awaited him, and new fields of service opened to his feet.

At the time of his ordination, young as he was, he had a very definitely formulated religious belief, expressed in twelve distinct declarations, to wit: 1. The plenary inspiration of the Bible; 2. The preëxistence and divine sonship of Christ; 3. The personal unity of God, the Father; 4. The impersonal agency of the Holy Spirit in working out God's designs; 5. The fall of man in Adam into universal but not total depravity; 6. The indispensable necessity of the new birth; 7. Man's free moral agency; 8. This life man's only probation for eternity; 9. The resurrection of the body; 10. A general day of judgment; 11. The immortality of the righteous; 12. The just punishment of the wicked, terminating in endless destruction.

It was an era of earnest thinking and of stout controversy in the theological world when he elaborated

and framed for himself this clearly-cut statement of faith. Calvinism and Arminianism, Unitarianism and Trinitarianism, Universal Salvation and Endless Punishment, with the side issue of Annihilation in which he believed, were in vigorous conflict, each enlisting its ablest champions in the fight. To inform himself of what was going on in these regards, young Ballou's mind was busy in examining the respective claims of the several contesting parties, and in framing his own conclusions concerning them. A vigorous and searching study of the Scriptures, to satisfy himself as to their teaching upon the topics under examination, and others germane thereto, made him familiar with what they contained, from Genesis to Revelation. He had come to believe and to feel that his own views were established upon the rock of eternal truth, and that he was able to answer all objections to them and vanquish all who should venture to attack them. Earnest in his endeavors to maintain and defend what seemed to him to be right and true, he was no less earnest in opposing what he deemed wrong and false.

The doctrines of Universalism had been for some time promulgated in the community where he lived when he first came before the public, and had a goodly sprinkling of adherents among his neighbors and acquaintances, Though never a believer in Endless Punishment, he was at that time in no wise a believer in the final holiness and happiness of all mankind. He deemed this latter view no less an error than the former, having no ground of support in Scripture or in reason, and felt called upon to enter the field of conflict against it, and, both in private and public, to do what he could to disprove and overthrow it. Under this inspiration he wrote and published a review of one of the sermons of his distinguished kinsman, Rev. Hosea Ballou, then and afterward the acknowledged head

of the Universalist denomination. He counted himself able to meet every argument that could be urged in defense of that form of faith, and to silence all its advocates.

Nevertheless, while studying the subject in its various aspects and bearings, with a view of fortifying himself as an opponent at every possible point, and of adding arrows to his quiver as a good soldier in the warfare against it, he found arising in his mind, he knew not how, and greatly to his surprise, some doubts whether after all he was in the right. As he continued his inquiries his doubts were confirmed rather than removed, though for a while they took no definite form, and exerted no very decided influence upon him. About this time a friend put into his hands a work entitled "Winchester's Dialogues upon the Universal Restoration," extorting from him a promise to read it carefully. He entered upon his task, confidently expecting that he would be able to meet every argument presented therein, and refute every position taken in support of the theory it was designed to uphold. As he went on, the unassuming, candid, profoundly religious spirit in which the book was written deeply impressed him and tended to disarm all hostile criticism, while the moral grandeur of the leading idea of the author — the restoration of all men to holiness and happiness, a universe redeemed from all sin and misery — produced a marked effect upon his mind and heart. Nor could he rid himself of the impression and effect thus produced, even though not yet convinced that the truth was on the author's side.

When he had finished the work and undertook to frame an argument against the conclusion it maintained, he found it had revealed to him one weak point in his own cherished view of the final consummation of all things, —

a defect in his own reasoning which he had never discovered before, the significance and gravity of which he could not deny or thrust out of sight. That vulnerable point, involved in all systems which rejected the doctrine of the ultimate redemption of the whole universe of souls, was, that an all-perfect God, infinite in power, wisdom, and love, who by the moral necessity of his own being must have created all men to be holy and happy, and who raised up Christ to redeem all, must fail to realize to its full extent his beneficent and mighty purpose — must be in a large measure defeated in carrying out his own eternally ordained plan; being obliged to annihilate, as he himself believed, untold myriads of those He had made to serve and enjoy Him forever, or, as many others believed, send them to never-ending misery, as incorrigible sinners whom his redeeming grace and sanctifying might were impotent to save. At this difficulty, now for the first time made known to him, he paused and pondered in profound and reverent thought.

The more he paused and pondered, the more perplexed and troubled he was; the more he saw that the position hitherto maintained by him in all sincerity and confidence was not as secure and impregnable as he had supposed. Desirous of getting at the truth, and agitated by great mental anxiety, he set himself to the task of canvassing by patient investigation the whole subject in question, in the light of Scripture, reason, the moral sense in his own breast, and the infinite perfections of God. He was surprised, startled, almost confounded, by the disclosures thus made to him. The strain upon his nervous system increased in rigor and intensity, until in agony of spirit he went by himself, and poured out his soul to God with all the fervor and depth of feeling of which he was capable, crying for light, for satisfying assurance, for peace.

As he prayed, the light came, the heavens seemed opened to him. All doubts vanished, an inexpressibly sweet influence flowed into his soul, the glorious idea of the final triumph of good over evil, of a universe of undivided holiness and joy, shone with majestic splendor before his spiritual vision, and his heart was filled with transports of delight.

He little knew at the time what tumultuous scenes awaited him in consequence of this honest change of belief regarding the destiny of mankind. Upon making his new-formed convictions known, and his determination to stand by them and to proclaim them as far and wide as possible, he found himself launched upon a stormy, threatening sea. The excitement awakened in the general community was intense, and the opposition in certain directions bitter and unrelenting. Some of his kindred and friends, greatly grieved at first, turned against him, becoming at length indignant, hostile, implacable. His father, after trying in vain to convince him of his error, severely rebuked and condemned him, and, scarce knowing what he did, threatened to disown him as a son. The young man's reply was, "If I have no father on earth to care for and protect me, I have one in heaven who has promised never to leave nor forsake me, and in Him will I trust." Charges of heresy were preferred against him in the church and denomination to which he belonged, and he was, as before stated, excommunicated from membership, and deprived of his license to preach under the auspices of the "Christian Connection."

Happily the primary credentials of his office were higher and more authoritative than any body of men on earth could give, and he turned to new fields where he could act and serve the truth according to their sacred import, in the freedom of Christ and in loyalty to God. Thrown out of all his former religious associations, he sought sym-

pathy and fellowship from the Universalists, with whom he was now in full accord upon the great question of human destiny, and was welcomed with fraternal cordiality and manifest joy. But though agreeing with them entirely in respect to the final issue of things under the divine government, — the ultimate redemption and happiness of all souls, — he did not accept the then prevailing teaching of that body, and especially of its principal preachers and prophets, that all sin and its consequences were limited to earth and time — to the present state of existence. He held then, as ever since, that life is one and indivisible; that what is called death makes no break in the chain of being; that souls enter the future world, morally and spiritually considered, as they leave this; and that therefore the consequences of both holiness and sin extend into the realm that lies beyond the grave, insuring happiness or misery there as to some extent they do here, with the blessed proviso and assurance that the misery will ultimately, by the saving power of God, be overcome and brought to a perpetual end, not arbitrarily, but through the conversion of those enduring it, and their renewal and everlasting progress in obedience, righteousness, and peace.

Notwithstanding this difference in regard to the time when the final reconciliation of all men to God shall be consummated, he was kindly received by his new associates, and given free and cheerful admission to their homes, their councils, and their pulpits. The fact that a considerable and respectable minority of them cherished views upon the relation of time to eternity, and of existence in this life to existence in the life to come, similar to his own, rendered the change more agreeable to him than perhaps it otherwise would have been, and the fellowship in the new relations more complete and gratifying. Still en-

gaged more or less in manual labor, and in teaching school as opportunity offered, he yet preached nearly every Sunday for two or three years, in different localities, securing a good hearing, and enlarging the circle of his influence. At a meeting of the Southern Association of Universalists held at Milford, December 10, 1823, he was re-ordained as a Christian minister according to the custom of that body, and in the following spring received a call to the pastorate of the society gathered there many years before. Accepting the call, he was duly installed shortly after, and at once took up his residence in the place. He was then twenty-one years of age, and this was his first regular ministerial settlement.

The young man entered upon his work in Milford under many difficulties and discouragements. The society was small and comparatively weak, and was obliged to struggle hard to get a sure foothold in the community and to have its right even to exist acknowledged. The Universalist faith was deemed a great heresy at that day, and was everywhere spoken against. The salary paid was small, necessitating occasional terms of school-teaching, in order to supply the needs of a growing family. Moreover, a local quarrel had been going on in the town for several years, which, while resulting in considerable accessions to the Universalist society, filled the community with contention and strife, jealousy and suspicion, alike hostile to the general welfare, to the spirit of Christ, and exceedingly trying to an ambassador of the Prince of Peace. Nevertheless, Mr. Ballou applied himself to the duties of his profession with diligence and zeal. For some years, things went on prosperously and harmoniously. The society increased in numbers and in public favor. The minister proved himself a citizen as well as a preacher, interested himself in what conduced to the general well-being, was respected

outside his own circle of co-religionists, and did much by his private life as well as by his public efforts, not only to remove popular prejudice and build up his own faith, but to conciliate hostile interests, allay contention and strife, and secure harmony, concord, mutual good feeling, and kindness among all classes of people.

Mr. Ballou proved himself an interesting and attractive preacher, and his ability and oratorical gifts soon began to be recognized far beyond the limits of his own parish and neighborhood. As a consequence, in 1827, he received an invitation to take charge of the Prince Street Universalist Society, in New York city, which, under the promise of an enlarged sphere of usefulness and of a more favorable position for the proclamation of the glorious doctrines of God's eternal love, mighty and able to save to the uttermost, and of a finally ransomed world and universe, he deemed it wise to accept. He accordingly removed thither, entering upon his work with increased enthusiasm and zeal. To serve the truth as he had received it, and to extend the sphere of his influence, he established and conducted a semi-monthly magazine called "The Dialogical Instructor," his first editorial experience, devoted to the discussion of theological and kindred subjects, in which he was absorbingly interested. The removal to New York, however, was not followed by the hoped-for results, and his stay there was consequently brief. His Milford friends, learning of his dissatisfaction, besought him most urgently to return to them, no one having, in the interim, been found to fill the place he had vacated. Yielding to their solicitations, he resumed his labors in their midst before the expiration of a year, and went on as he had formerly done.

The difference of opinion in the Universalist body upon the subject of future retribution, to which reference has

been made, had at this time awakened considerable interest among the leading ministers on either side of the question involved, and to some extent among the laity. Indeed, for several years there had been more or less discussion in the papers of the denomination, and elsewhere, respecting the matter, and the opposing parties were becoming more and more distinctly defined and recognized from year to year. Mr. Ballou was firmly established in his own convictions, and was not disposed to shrink from making them known whenever he thought the cause of truth and righteousness was to be subserved thereby. He did not seek notoriety or prominence in the advocacy of his Restorationist views, and made no attacks upon those disagreeing with him, but simply went diligently on with his proper work, faithful to himself and to the Master he was called to serve.

And yet, while not assuming a hostile attitude in respect to any of his brethren of a common faith, he would by no means try to evade any responsibility that might be laid upon him in the defense of his own cherished views. And so it was that, when his testimony upon what he deemed the Scriptural and rational doctrine of retribution under the government of God awakened open opposition on the part of the no-future-punishment party, and subjected him to sharp criticism and reprobation in the denominational publications, he made no delay in meeting the issue forced upon him, as became a man and a soldier of the cross of Christ. And so, too, it was that, unintentionally on his part, and almost without premonition, he found himself launched upon a sea of controversy from which he could not escape save by treachery or fear, and of these he was not capable.

The issue alluded to, resulting in a break of ecclesiastical relationship, came about on this wise. In the regular

course of his ministry, Mr. Ballou preached at Medway, where he was supplying the pulpit half of the time, on the 25th of April, 1830, a sermon upon "The Inestimable Value of Souls," from Matt. xvi. 26, which gratified his hearers so much that they requested a copy of it for publication in the "Trumpet," the leading denominational paper of that day. The request was granted, and the production subsequently appeared as desired. But not, however, until it had been heralded by the editor, Rev. Thomas Whittemore, in exceedingly reprehensible terms, and subjected by him to a very sharp, censorious, and depreciative criticism. To this unprovoked onslaught, as Mr. Ballou deemed it, he wrote a "Reply" for the same paper, which his critic refused to print. Whereupon he and some eight or ten other ministers, sympathizing with him in opinion, and a goodly number of laymen, unwilling to encourage or submit to what they regarded the dogmatism and intolerance of the dominant wing of the Universalist body as thus represented, withdrew from its membership and formed what was called the "Massachusetts Association of Independent Restorationists," who fraternized with a certain portion of the Unitarian denomination. The seceders soon after started a paper called "The Independent Messenger" for the maintenance and promulgation of their views, the first number of which appeared January 1, 1831. Of this paper, published at the outset at Milford, Mr. Ballou was made editor-in-chief. A long controversy was thus opened between the believers in future retribution and those who held that there is "no condition for man after death but that of the angels in heaven," in which he was the leading champion on the side of the former. After some years the conflict died away so far as any outward show of hostilities was concerned, though it is but a matter of justice to the truth

and to the facts of history to say that time and Providence have amply justified the Restorationists in the doctrinal position assumed by them. Even the Universalists themselves, by a majority approaching unanimity, at the present day occupy the same position as they did in regard to the main question involved in the matter at issue.

The stand taken by Mr. Ballou upon the subject of future punishment, and his withdrawal from the Universalist fellowship, produced a revulsion of feeling towards him in his own parish not wholly unexpected, and opened the way for a change of pastoral relations. A majority of his people, being opposed to his Restorationist principles, as was very well known, at a meeting held early in January, 1831, voted to dispense with his services as a minister. Singularly enough, — providentially, the devout mind might say, — on the very day upon which he was officially notified of this vote, he was waited upon by a committee of the First Church and Society in Mendon, only four miles away, where he was quite well-known, and where his ability, his spirit, and cheering views of God, man, and destiny had gained for him many friends, who proffered him the vacant pastorate of that ancient heritage of the Most High. The kind, urgent, and totally unanticipated proposal he was pleased to accept, and the first of February found him in his new position, his family, paper, printing-press, and all his effects having meanwhile been transferred thither. He was duly installed in his pastoral office by a council of Restorationist and Unitarian clergy and laity, Rev. Bernard Whitman of Waltham, a prominent Unitarian divine of that day, preaching the sermon.

Mr. Ballou received a cordial welcome on the part of the Mendon people, and began his labors there under flattering auspices, rising at once to the favor and confi-

dence of all who were brought under his magic influence. His fine personal presence and address, his musical voice, his natural eloquence and evident sincerity and zeal in the proclamation of the blessed doctrines of God's fatherly love and universal saving grace, as opposed to the hard Calvinism so generally preached at that day, or the dry dogmas and cold moralizings of a more liberal theology, attracted great numbers to him, and the old meeting-house of the town was filled to overflowing. Moreover, his kind and courteous manners, his sympathetic spirit, his interest in all classes and conditions of men, even the humblest, his readiness to befriend and help all in their struggles, trials, sorrows, and bereavements, gained for him a place in everybody's heart. The church prospered in all its departments and activities, and every interest it represented was well cared for and fostered. Through his paper, his lecturing and preaching abroad, and otherwise, he added continually to his reputation as a controversialist, a public debater, a man of ability, of character, of commanding influence, and far-reaching usefulness. Under such circumstances of popular favor, and with such tokens of success, did he labor on and on with the passing years. But new experiences were before him — new ways of serving God and man soon arrested his attention, and gave a new direction to his thought and energy.

Up to the date at which Mr. Ballou had now arrived, he had been engaged very largely in the field of theological investigation and warfare. He had examined from time to time, as he advanced in life, the great leading questions agitating the religious world, such as pertained to the being, character, government, and providence of God, the office and work of Christ, the nature and destiny of man, redemption, atonement, retribution, existence here and hereafter, and all important collateral subjects,

and had entered earnestly and heroically into the defense of the several conclusions to which he had been brought. He never at any time shrunk from exposing, rejecting, fighting to the best of his ability, the errors and falsehoods, the superstitions and delusions, which in the name of divine truth had deceived and hallucinated the minds and hearts of men, and wrought mischief in the world. He had not, upon occasion, refrained from entering the field of combat, not only with the advocates of the doctrine of no future punishment among his Universalist brethren, but with some of the leading champions of the old New England Orthodoxy and kindred systems of faith, against which his reason and moral judgment raised an emphatic protest. At the same time, he had not been unmindful of the relation of divine truth to human conduct, nor of the claims of the Christian gospel upon its believers "to live soberly, righteously, and godly in the world." He never divorced faith from works, piety from morality, nor did he ever teach that happiness could be enjoyed, in this or any state of being, without holiness, or heaven be gained without possessing and exemplifying a heavenly spirit, — the spirit of love to God and man, upon which all the law and prophets hang. Personal fidelity, personal character, personal goodness, he ever emphasized as the "one thing needful," the end and aim of all true and undefiled religion. Godliness, in his theory, was "profitable to all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."

But the time was at hand when a new sphere of activity was to be opened to him in the providence of God, and when a new application of the principles of Christianity was to be made on his part to the conduct and affairs of men. New battles were to be fought for God and humanity, and new victories were to be won for the right, the good,

and the true, — battles requiring not less but rather more of courage and self-sacrifice than was ever demanded before; victories not less, but perhaps more honorable and glorious than any before achieved.

During the decade 1830–1840, a great tide of philanthropic feeling seemed to sweep over the land and world,— an "enthusiasm for humanity" prevailed unprecedented in modern times. What may be called, perhaps, "the humanitarian era," resulting from causes operating on both sides the sea, was inaugurated, — an era in which great social reforms were either set on foot or invested with new life, in which numerous movements were proposed looking to the amelioration of the condition of the less fortunate classes, the removal of great existing evils, the harmonizing of conflicting interests, the wider diffusion of the spirit of equity and charity, and the more complete fraternization of the world. Mr. Ballou very naturally became at an early day profoundly interested in this phase of Christian activity, and as each more marked and practicable feature of it was brought to his notice, examined it carefully, and when he found it worthy of acceptance, became its adherent, its advocate, its champion.

The Temperance reform first claimed his attention, enlisted his sympathy, secured his indorsement, and commanded his active support. By voice and pen, at home and abroad, in public and in private, he labored in its behalf, helping in a multitude of ways to carry it forward to successful issues. This action on his part grieved some of his parishioners, chilled the friendship of others, and alienated a few who were, perhaps, brought into condemnation by his testimonies. More or less opposition to his course was developed in the town and community, assuming in some instances a calumniatory and vindictive form.

But this man of God was not to be deterred from any line of effort that duty pointed out to him. Where moral principle and loyalty to his convictions bade him go, there he went, and none could turn him back.

In due time the Anti-slavery cause laid its claims at the door of his heart, and urged upon his conscience its appeals. He heard them, considered them, was convinced of their validity and justice, and avowed himself an Abolitionist of the most uncompromising school. As an honest man, a Christian, and a philanthropist, he began at once to teach and to proclaim the principles of liberty as the inherent right of all men, and the consequent duty of breaking the yoke of bondage that enthralled such multitudes in the land, and letting the oppressed go free. On Fast Day, in the spring of 1837, he preached a sermon on the subject in the usual order of ministerial labor, and on the 4th of July following, gave an address in his church, setting forth in greater completeness his views upon what was then fast becoming the great question of the century with the American people. The latter was a masterly production, ranking high in the literature of the cause it was designed to serve. It was printed and widely circulated in this country, reprinted in England, and scattered through the kingdom. Its author rose at once to prominence as an Abolitionist advocate and orator, and was thereafter ranked as one of the leaders in the great moral conflict with the giant evil of our land and time. The excitement caused by his position and course upon this subject was intense in his church and society, and throughout the town. Many of his parishioners and old friends were alienated and embittered, quite a number of families leaving his congregation altogether. Contumely and wrath were poured out upon his innocent head, but it availed nothing. Faithful to his convictions, true to hu-

manity, loyal to the great doctrine of human brotherhood, he moved straight on in the path where duty bade him tread, swerving neither to the right hand nor left. The old admonition, "Woe is me if I preach not the gospel," ever sounded in his ears, and he could do no otherwise than heed its implied behests.

And as American slavery came into swift and emphatic condemnation at the bar of his conscience, so was it with the great war system of the world, when he examined it in the light of Christian truth, and tested it by the spirit of the gospel of "good will to men." He saw and felt that it was founded in violence and cemented with blood, that it was antagonistic to the teachings of the Prince of Peace, and was to all intents and purposes what Channing had called it many years before, "the worst vestige of barbarism, and the grossest outrage on the principles of Christianity." Convinced of this, there was no parleying with him, and no withholding of what he held to be the truth. He avowed himself a stanch opponent of the custom, — a radical peace man, even to the extent of non-resistance of all evil and wrong-doing with injurious force, and of non-participation in all sword-sustained institutions, and so he remained in theory and in practice to the end of his days. His testimonies against all war — defensive as well as offensive — were outspoken and unequivocal, though in the nature of the case were not calculated to produce the excitement and arouse the opposition that had resulted from his action in the instances before noticed. Many, indeed, agreed with him in a general way, although not to the extent to which his principles carried him, but that made no difference. Be his followers few or many, he must stand in the place which truth and duty assigned him, even though he stood alone.

Other reforms, the legitimate fruit of the same philan-

thropic spirit, came up from time to time for consideration. Those pertaining to the abolition of capital punishment, the improvement of prisons, the rights of women, the amelioration of the condition of the laboring classes, the mitigation and prevention of the evils of poverty, with less important activities of a humanitarian nature and purpose, he espoused and championed, each in its turn and place, as opportunity offered, and as his many pressing labors allowed. No cry of suffering, needy humanity, hailing from whatever source it might, went unheard of him or unresponded to, so far as voice or pen or active service of any sort could answer it. As love of learning was the ruling passion of his mind in his earlier years, so love of humanity — the ambition to benefit and bless his fellow-men — was the inspiring motive of his maturer and later life.

It was under this inspiration, and to insure the end thus indicated, that he projected, and, by the coöperation of sympathizing friends, secured the establishment of what was known in its day as "The Hopedale Community." This was an attempt to unite all special reforms in one great comprehensive movement for the suppression of human ills and the promotion of the welfare of all classes of people, to reorganize the personal and social relations of men and place them on a Christian basis, to bring all human interests and affairs into subservience to and harmony with the law of love to God and man, — in short, it was to inaugurate the kingdom of heaven upon the earth. As has been stated, the spirit of philanthropy was in the air, manifesting itself not only in propounding special schemes of benevolence, and in setting in motion numerous activities for the overthrow of particular abuses and wrongs in actual life, but in practical efforts to infuse more of the Christian spirit into human society, and to make of the

world of mankind one great brotherhood, according to the ultimate ideal of the gospel of Christ. Several philosophers and humanitarians of continental Europe suggested plans of universal beneficence and amelioration, some of which were submitted, with more or less satisfactory results, to the test of actual experimentation; all of them contributing, no doubt, in a measure to the solution of the mighty problem of human redemption here on the earth. Distinguished names in English annals — Maurice, Kingsley, Hughes, Robertson — were lent to measures looking to the same grand result, under the auspices of the "Broad Church" party in the Episcopal communion. All these things were but the natural outgrowth of the higher aspiration of the human soul for the reign of something of millennial righteousness, unity, helpfulness, and peace.

The Hopedale Community was but one of a large number of experiments in this country and elsewhere in this general direction and behalf. It was unlike all others, however, in important respects, — unique, original, *sui generis*. It was virtually the creation of Mr. Ballou, the fruit of his genius, his humanity, his love of justice, order, harmony, his power to draw people to himself, to inspire them with his thought, to mould them to his purpose, and his ability to organize and reproduce his ideals in practical life. To the development of this scheme, to the realization of this new order of society, of this embryonic kingdom of God, in which the principle of "each for all, and all for each" should be practically illustrated, — the individual not being lost in the general mass, nor the common good sacrificed to an extreme individualism, — its projector and founder devoted the best years of his life. Leaving his Mendon parish in 1842, he removed to an obscure valley in the town of Milford, the seat of a long-neglected, worn-out homestead; there, with a few

like-minded men and women, to engage in carrying out his cherished doctrines and ideas to definite results. The place was christened Hopedale, a name expressive of the expectations entertained for the undertaking and for humanity. He toiled with his hands and with his brain; he attended to a multitude of details incident to the first stages of such an enterprise; he did whatever came in his way to do to secure a foothold for the experiment and make it a success. No task was too severe, no work too menial or arduous, no denial too irksome for him to endure, only so be it he could serve the noble end in view — show mankind the better way and benefit the world. He started a paper in aid of the cause he had espoused, called "The Practical Christian," of which he was editor-in-chief for twenty years. He traveled far and wide, preaching, lecturing, conversing, in exposition of his views, and in promotion of the work in hand. He wrote and published a large volume entitled "Practical Christian Socialism," in which his method of social reorganization was carefully developed and explained, — his way of bringing a better era into the world, — and pamphlets and tracts by the score or hundred in the same beneficent behalf. In season and out of season, by day and by night, resting not, fainting not, he wrought and sacrificed for what lay so near his heart, for what he felt promised great blessings for mankind, for building up a community of people into the likeness of the Millennium.

That the endeavor but partially succeeded, that it but imperfectly realized his expectations, that at the expiration of fourteen years it was abandoned as a distinctive form of social life, to his great disappointment and lasting grief, was no discredit to his mind or heart, and reflected no dishonor upon his motive or purpose in undertaking it. It detracted nothing from the grandeur of his

leading idea, nor from the nobility of his character and life, as it detracted nothing from the esteem, the love, the reverence, of those who knew him best, and who most thoroughly understood him. It only proved how far ahead of his time he was, how much loftier was his aspiration for humanity than the moral quality and standing of the race at its then existing stage of development, and what grace and growth in divine knowledge, in righteousness, in love to God and man, was requisite, before that state of equity and Christian brotherhood could be realized for which he hoped and prayed and labored, to the very end of his life.

But who can say after all that what seemed to him and to many others a failure was really so, in any absolute and final sense? Making no account of outward results, of the fact that Hopedale has become an enterprising, prosperous, well-ordered town, — a model town in certain respects, — the very existence of which was made possible by Mr. Ballou's efforts, and looking at the matter from his own standpoint and in the light of his own declared principles, who can say that the apparent defeat of his plans was more than a temporary suspension of the work to which he devoted his chief energies, — a postponement of the issue and consummation of his great purpose till the world was fitted by moral growth and spiritual renewal for it, till some more auspicious day of the slowly but surely advancing providence of God? It may be questioned, perhaps, whether the exact form of social regeneration he outlined will ever be made fact; whether the divine kingdom will come in the particular way he anticipated. But who can doubt that his supreme idea will some day be transformed into a reality, that brotherhood and peace will some time prevail among men? Who does so doubt, must do it against reason, against the best hopes of the heart of man,

against the suggestions of human progress in past ages, against the prophetic intimations of the Hebrew Scriptures and the glorious promises of the gospel of Christ. What are all the agitating movements of the present day, the social studies that engage human thought, the unrest in the industrial world, the questions looking to greater unity and coöperation in the church, the theories bearing the label of "Nationalism" and even "Christian Socialism," etc., but gropings after that divine order of society which was the glad vision of beauty and glory that caught his eye, — what but currents of the age that sooner or later will swell the onward flow of his exalted purpose and supreme aim in life, even if they are not already doing so? To say that he was mistaken and wrong in that purpose and aim, that he was no true prophet of God, is to discredit all the higher hopes of humanity, to remand to the realm of myths and shadows the lofty ideals of human progress and perfectibility that have given to history its noblest characters, to poetry its selectest periods, to faith its sublimest picturings, and to make forever null and void the prayer of our Lord, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven."

In judging the ministerial labors and achievements of the subject of this sketch, or his idea of a divine order of society among men, it is to be remembered that he always laid great emphasis on personal righteousness, a pure and noble character. He allowed no substitutes for this. He never expected to save men by machinery, nor to institute any social device which should obviate the necessity or cancel the obligation for "doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly before God." In his philosophy, individual regeneration must invariably precede social regeneration, be its foundation and the pledge of its perpetuity. This he never left out of sight. Indeed, from first

to last, in all his efforts, he sought to call men to and build them up in the higher — the Christian life — to awaken a love of goodness in their hearts, and to establish them in the ways of godliness. In this direction he was eminently successful. His power to get at the best there was in men, and to quicken and develop it, was one of the strong points of his character. His words, his manner, his example, were most inspiring in this regard. How many souls has he quickened, turned from darkness to light, from error to truth, from sin to holiness! What multitudes have been and are able to say, "All the good in me I owe under God to him!" Here he wrought some of his best work, won some of his grandest victories.

To do complete justice to Mr. Ballou's character, mention must be made of another indication of his desire to know the truth upon all matters bearing upon man's higher fortunes and ultimate destiny, and of his independence and courage in avowing and defending the conclusions to which he was brought by candid, thorough investigation, however strange or unpopular they might be. When, in the midst of his experience at Hopedale, the subject of Modern Spiritualism was brought to public notice, he, like many others, was at first inclined to pass it by as of little significance or value, or perhaps treat it with indifference and derision. But as its pretensions assumed greater proportions and were put forward with increasing urgency, he came to realize that such a course was neither manly nor Christian, and so set himself to the task of inquiring into and testing it in the most painstaking, searching way possible to him. Though closely pressed by other cares and duties, he yet devoted all the time he could command for weeks and months, and perhaps for a year or two, to the assigned task, coming at length to the undoubting belief that intercommunication

between this mundane world and the world of spirits was possible and did sometimes occur. And this view he maintained in private conversation, in his paper, in public lectures and sermons, as also in a published work of several hundred pages, entitled "Spirit Manifestations," which passed through two editions and had a wide circulation. Rejecting much that goes by the name of Spiritualism as puerile, false, and demoralizing, and declining in later years to have his name appear among those of its standard-bearers and public advocates, he yet, without doubt, had a quiet but unwavering faith in the essential idea it embodied as long as he lived.

After the Hopedale Community was dissolved in 1856, and subsequently merged, so far as its religious characteristics were concerned, in the Hopedale Parish, which became at length ecclesiastically connected with the Worcester Conference of Unitarian and Other Christian Societies, Mr. Ballou was the regularly employed minister under the new arrangement as before, attending faithfully to the duties of his office, preaching and lecturing on religious and philanthropic topics, more or less, in the general community, until advancing years and the feeling that some younger man was needed for the place induced him to give up his position in 1880, at the age of seventy-seven. Since that date he has answered occasional calls to preach at home and abroad, responded to numerous requests on the part of his young friends to officiate at the bridal altar, and ministered often to bereaved and desolate hearts on funeral occasions, a service for which he was peculiarly qualified by his faith in the eternal Fatherhood of God, his cheering, hopeful views of death and the after-life, his deep, strong, tender sympathies, and his power to adapt himself to the varying circumstances of sorrow and distress, as thousands of those whom he

has consoled, comforted, and blessed in the most trying hours of life, can testify. His last sermon was delivered in his old pulpit at Hopedale, November 3, 1889, his last marriage was solemnized June 26 of the present year, 1890, his last funeral attended June 1, and his last public religious service, a prayer at a Masonic gathering held in honor of St. John the Baptist, was rendered on Sunday, June 29. This filled out an entire ministerial career of sixty-nine years lacking a single month only.

During Mr. Ballou's later life he was busy even to excess, though less before the public than formerly, adding to his more strictly ministerial labors others equally exacting and onerous. He had no time for leisure or recuperation, save what nature rigorously enforced upon him. His relatives and friends were sometimes disposed to chide him that he visited them so infrequently and made his sojourn so brief. But he always excused himself on the ground that he had so much to do that he could not afford the time. There was a certain amount of work which he had resolved to accomplish, and that was his primary concern. Fortunately, he was able to apply himself to the task assigned until near the last, and he may be said to have worn himself out by continuous, unremitting toil in the interest of truth and humanity.

Even after the abandonment of the Community enterprise, and the consequent crushing of his hope to see the realization of his ideal social state during his earthly lifetime, it was his ruling ambition to leave behind him a record of himself and of the work he had done and tried to do, to perpetuate that work after he should have passed away, and to help still in the uplifting and redemption of the world, when his tongue and all his mortal powers should lie mouldering in the grave. To this end he outlined and set himself about preparing sev-

eral volumes expository of his principles and ideas upon important questions of religion, morality, and social life, including broad and comprehensive plans of beneficence and philanthropy, for the enlightenment and use of coming generations. And in order to make sure the end he had in view beyond all possibility of failure, he allowed himself to engage in sundry outside labors of a literary and historic character, the moderate compensation for which, added to his small pecuniary receipts from other sources, carefully husbanded, would eventually supply the means needful for the publication of what he might leave ready for the press, and for its distribution in this and other lands, with a surplus, as he hoped, to aid in carrying some of his projected beneficent and philanthropic designs into practical effect. In all this, the ruling spirit within him and the controlling purpose of his life were clearly manifest. Though dead he yet would speak his word of truth to the sons and daughters of men, and though passed into the skies would still be a minister of good to the world, — a helper in the great work of reorganizing human society upon the principles of the gospel of Christ, and of building up the kingdom of God on the earth.

What these later works of Mr. Ballou were will appear with sufficient distinctness in a summary of his literary and scholastic labors during his life. He delivered an unrecorded number of sermons and lectures, presumably eight or nine thousand in all, officiated at 2,606 funerals, solemnized the marriage of 2,398 persons, edited a religious paper under different names and auspices more than thirty years, and wrote and prepared for the press three large octavo volumes: one entitled "Practical Christian Socialism," containing 654 pages, issued in 1854; a "History of Milford," 1,150 pages, issued in 1882; and a "History of the Ballous in America," 1,324

pages, issued in 1888, — the last two requiring six years of time each; — also several smaller works: "Christian Non-Resistance," "Life of Adin Augustus Ballou," "Spirit Manifestations," and "A Monitorial Guide," published at different dates many years ago; "Primitive Christianity and its Corruptions," vol. i., published in 1873; together with pamphlets and tracts numbering several hundred. His more recent works, awaiting publication, are "Primitive Christianity and its Corruptions," vols. ii. and iii.; "History of the Hopedale Community;" his "Autobiography," not quite completed, which will make a large volume of probably not less than a thousand pages; and also numerous reviews, dissertations, essays, criticisms, and other papers on important themes, ready for the printer, and subject to the disposal of his executors. Replete, indeed, with activity were the years of his earthly pilgrimage.

Any portraiture of the character and career of Adin Ballou would be radically defective, which did not include what he was in his family and amid the sacred endearments and familiarities of domestic life. His home was singularly quiet, pure, unostentatious, happy. Though so much before the public and so much engaged in outside affairs, he yet loved the place where he and his dear ones dwelt, and filled it with the sunshine of his kindness, affability, and constant cheerfulness. Delighting in high themes of thought and in far-reaching plans of beneficence and helpfulness, and dwelling much upon them, he yet could condescend to childhood and youth, and bring out from his vast array of resources something to interest and delight them. Never was there a more devoted, faithful, considerate husband and father than he. The richness and beauty of his character were displayed nowhere more than among those of his own household. He was twice

married. His first wife was Abigail Sayles, of Smithfield, R. I., who was the mother of two children: Adin, Jr., born in 1823, and dying when ten years of age, and Abbie Sayles, born January 30, 1829, — the wife of Rev. William S. Heywood, of Sterling, — who, of all his offspring, alone survives him. Abigail (Sayles) Ballou died February 20, 1829, and on March 3, 1830, the widowed husband married Lucy, daughter of Pearley Hunt, Esq., of Milford, Mass. She also bore him two children: Pearley Hunt, born November 23, 1830, and dying in the third year of his age, and Adin Augustus, born June 30, 1833, who grew up a tenderly affectionate and dutiful son, a bright and most promising youth, but who was stricken down in his opening manhood, February 8, 1852, at Bridgewater, soon after he had graduated with honor at the State Normal School there, in which institution he was at the time employed as assistant principal, — a visitation that fell with terrible, almost crushing severity upon his devoted parents, who had built upon him so many precious hopes for his riper manhood and the years to come. The second wife, to whom, in his history of the Ballou family, he himself pays grateful tribute as "a model of discretion, domestic order, and executive industry, a constant minister of good in her family and neighborhood, an intelligent counselor in all emergencies, and a sympathetic companion in all high aims and endeavors," and with whom he shared the joys and sorrows, the labors and trials, of over sixty years of wedded life, still abides in the flesh to mourn his loss. Yet is she consoled and comforted with a thousand happy memories of days gone by, with a grateful appreciation of what he was to her and to the world, and with the assurance of a coming blissful reunion with him and all the loved ones gone before in some higher mansion of the Father's house, —

"Where long adieus are sounds unknown,
Where death mars not the scene,
But life and glorious beauty shine
Untroubled and serene."

The last scene in the last act of the drama of existence here comes at length to every one, and the longest pilgrimage on the earth draws sooner or later to its close. Mr. Ballou enjoyed almost uninterrupted good health from childhood to hoary age. Twice only during his long and active career was he obliged to suspend his labors, save for a day or two at a time, — once in 1830, while living in Milford, when a severe illness, brought on by overwork and undue exposure, confined him to the house for several weeks, and again about thirty years later, when a violent attack of sciatic neuralgia held him in thrall through the greater part of one winter. The old apothegm, "A sound mind in a sound body," had in him a striking illustration. This was due largely, no doubt, to his regular habits and the simplicity of his whole manner of life. Even the infirmities of age came upon him with a lingering tread. Until a comparatively recent date his frame was wonderfully erect, and his step correspondingly firm and sure. His hearing became somewhat impaired many years since, and during a few of his last years his eyesight, previously excellent, gradually failed, much to his discomfort as well as to the delay of the work he had in hand.

But while these and other indications of advancing age appeared in his physical frame, his powers of mind remained singularly strong, acute, and active. People competent to judge, who met him in private or heard him in public, even quite recently, noted and remarked upon the vigor and clearness of his thought and utterance. Intimately, no relaxation of his intellectual energies was

manifested, no lack of command or of balance among the powers of his understanding, until within a few days of his departure.

Nevertheless, mortal strength was for some time almost imperceptibly, yet surely failing him, and his hold on life was gradually becoming less and less secure. His neighbors and friends, deeply solicitous for his health and general welfare, and watchful of changes in his personal appearance, for several months noticed indications of increasing infirmity on his part. Indeed, he had himself been made aware of the fact, and mentioned it in his diary, and elsewhere. On Sunday morning, July 13, he attended church as usual, carrying a cane to aid him in walking; "the first time," he said pleasantly to one of his fellow-worshipers, "you ever saw the old gentleman leaning on his staff." In the afternoon, he wrote to his daughter, Mrs. Heywood, the last letter he ever penned, detailing interesting incidents of family and neighborhood life with characteristic comments upon them, and closing with the following sentences, in which pathos, prophecy, and grateful piety are significantly blended. "Autobiography crawls slowly along. Another chapter, coming down to May, 1882, is almost finished. But dimness of vision greatly hinders progress. There is no improvement. The smoke gradually grows more dense, and there is little hope of betterment. But we must be patient and thankful for the good that remains. Dissolution must come to us both [himself and wife] ere long, and all will be right. The Heavenly Father doeth all things well. With ever-abiding love to you all, we remain affectionately yours, ADIN AND LUCY H. BALLOU."

Alas, the hour of "dissolution" was doubtless nearer than he thought, nearer than any of his family dared to anticipate. He did nothing for two or three days, save to

assist in some little matters about the house, but rested most of the time upon the lounge. On Wednesday, he rendered his last office of helpfulness and made his last entry in his diary, noting particularly his continued exhaustion and still waning power of vision. He kept quiet through the remainder of the week, hoping thereby to regain his depleted energies. But all in vain.

On the following Sunday, July 20, he arose quite early, as was his wont, and planned to go again to church, but his care-taking wife, who knew how weak he was better than he knew himself, dissuaded him from the attempt. Ere the evening arrived, his eyesight failed him altogether, and the light of time was never lifted upon his vision more. When he came to realize that he was totally blind, his heart seemed to sink within him, and he bemoaned for a little while the sadness of his lot. But encouraged and uplifted by the cheerful words of his wife, and by voices from the inner realm of being which had so often counseled him before, he at length said, "Light comes to me; the heavens again are opened; it is well;" and no word of murmur or disquietude again escaped his lips.

The day after, Monday, he expressed regrets that his "Autobiography" was not completed, and asked his wife if he could not write or dictate what might be written by her. Upon being told that he was not strong enough, and that he must be as quiet as possible, he yielded, but soon after proceeded to mention some of the more important things he wanted to have noted by whomsoever should finish the work, provided he should not be able to do it himself. His wife replied, "It shall all be done as you wish; it will be right." This seemed to satisfy him and put his mind at rest, and he did not mention the matter afterward. That night he went to the bed from which he never rose again.

On Tuesday, his old friend and much esteemed physician, Dr. Jerome Wilmarth, of Milford,[1] whom he had known from childhood, was summoned, who saw he was suffering from a slight pulmonary trouble, for which he prescribed with satisfactory results. On Wednesday morning, tidings of his sickness reached his daughter Mrs. Heywood and her husband, who hastened to his bedside, finding him, as they felt, very ill, but free from pain, and able to converse with little difficulty, save from exhaustion. He greeted them affectionately, gave directions, so far as his strength would allow, somewhat in detail, in anticipation of his departure, with accompanying expressions of love, gratitude, and pious trust.

The next day, he asked his daughter to read to him from the Bible and from other choice writings with which he was familiar. Her doing so gave him evident satisfaction, comfort, and peace. The physician at his evening call found him "holding his own," as he said, and thought there were grounds for hoping that he might rally and recover, but a stroke of paralysis before morning, affecting his entire left side, foreclosed all further expectation of such an issue. After this, his difficulty of speaking, his failing strength, and waning consciousness, precluded all continued conversation, though he answered questions addressed to him, and recognized those about him, till the last day of his life. Gradually and without pain he sank away, tenderly cared for by a faithful nurse, Mrs. Belle A. Varney, of Worcester, as well as by the members of his own family, until the morning of August 5, when, at quarter of five, in the presence of these and of a neighbor-watcher, Mrs. S. Jane Hatch, he passed quietly to the land where so many of his loved ones dwell.

[1] Since gone to join him in the spirit world.

That morn for him had no descending sun,
But light divine to chase all shades away;
Its beams a chariot were, to bear him on
To the glad summits of celestial day.

So lived and died Adin Ballou, the friend of all mankind, the faithful servant of the Most High God. The distinguishing features of his character and personality, delineated with much distinctness in the foregoing pages, may be sufficiently summarized in a single paragraph: —

1. Love of truth, combined with a tireless determination to seek for it by the most painstaking study and meditation, so that, if possible, he might attain it. 2. A logical mind, with singular power of analysis and argumentation. Whatever claimed his indorsement must be subjected to a most thorough and vindicatory examination at the bar of reason and a discriminating judgment. 3. Fidelity to convictions of truth and duty; holding them steadfastly, in a clear understanding, declaring them fearlessly, whether men would hear or forbear, and following them out practically to their moral and logical conclusions, at whatever cost or sacrifice. 4. Vast stores of knowledge, especially in the realms of theology and philanthropy. 5. An integrity sure as the hills, which no one, knowing him, would ever question or suspect. 6. A kind, genial disposition, manifest in a pleasant, benign countenance, and in a sincere, tender sympathy for all classes of people, drawing them to him and binding them there in confidence and love. 7. A disinterested love for his fellow-creatures, displaying itself in unceasing efforts to promote their enduring comfort, welfare, and happiness. 8. An undoubting belief in Jesus Christ as the model man and inspired revealer of divine truth and righteousness, and in the spirit and principles of his Religion as the unerring guide in all human relations and as the only true

foundation and pledge of order, harmony, and happiness in this and all possible worlds. 9. An unwavering assurance of the possibility of a divine order of society in this world, in which men should dwell together as a great brotherhood — an incipient kingdom of heaven on the earth. 10. A living faith in eternal realities: in God as an Infinite Spirit and Father of all souls, who everywhere hath rule and doeth all things well, and who finally will reign "all in all" throughout the boundless universe; in the spiritual capacity and glorious destiny of man; and in immortality as the God-ordained heritage of all human beings, ultimating in the final universal holiness, harmony, and happiness. This faith sustained, strengthened, and cheered him in many a trying place in life, and was ever to him an unfailing source of inspiration, comfort, hope, and peace.

Such, in brief, was the man whose character and career these pages are designed to commemorate, and whose memory and influence it is hoped they will help to perpetuate for long years to come. Such was the man whose translation from this mortal sphere to the realms of immortality left the world his debtor; and whose many relatives and friends, while deeply feeling and deploring his loss, will ever rejoice and be grateful to the Giver of all good for what he was, not only in himself, but to them and to his fellow-men, and will keep his name in remembrance as a rich and blessed heritage as long as they shall have being.

"Some when they die, die all;
Their mouldering clay is but a symbol of their memory: —
That he has lived to leave a mark behind,
Shall pluck a shining age from vulgar time,
And pass it down to late posterity."

II.

FUNERAL SERVICES.

THE rites of sepulture in honor of him whose career in life has been sketched in the preceding pages were duly solemnized on the afternoon of Friday, August 8, three days subsequent to his decease. They were largely attended, people coming from near and far to lay their tribute of respect, veneration, and love upon the bier of the departed, and to mingle, as fellow-mourners or sympathizing friends, their sorrows and tears with those of the more immediately and deeply bereaved. Besides the family group, relatives of remoter tie, and a great assemblage of the general public, there were present, by full or partial delegation, representatives of certain religious, social, or philanthropic organizations with which he had been connected, or to which he had rendered service, desirous of testifying to the esteem cherished by them for a beloved associate and friend, notably among which were those of the Masonic Order, indicated by their distinguishing regalia.

Everything pertaining to the sacred occasion was as simple and unostentatious as, in the nature of the case, it well could be. The family, in accordance with the well-known preferences of their translated one, and their own feelings, avoided all personal displays of bereavement and grief, save what nature and wounded affection compelled them to manifest, and nowhere appeared the emblems of

despondency and gloom, — "the trappings and the suits of woe." On the other hand, a cheerful though subdued tone and aspect everywhere prevailed. Flowers there were, in rich abundance but not in oppressive profusion, wrought into chaste and expressive forms, testifying alike to the thoughtful love of earthly friends and to the fatherly-kindness of Him who hath filled the world with unnumbered charms, and who, to the devout and trusting soul, giveth "beauty for ashes, and the spirit of joy for the spirit of heaviness."

All the services of the occasion were imbued with the same spirit, — sad, indeed, but not melancholy; mournful, but not hopeless; solemn, but not despairing. With much to cause sorrow, there was much to give joy; with much to agitate and afflict the heart, there was much to soothe and comfort it, to fill it with gladness and praise, and

"Out of our stony griefs, Bethels to raise."

A life closely linked with many other lives by tender and sacred ties had come to its earthly close, but it had been a noble life, full of blessing to the world, and it had ended in peace. A light had gone out, — a light shining far and wide through the mists and shadows of time, but it had gone out, not in darkness, but in glory. Death had taken away a dear and honored one, but the very chambers of death were illumined by the radiance of God's eternal love, and the splendors of celestial and never-ending day.

The exercises of the occasion had been arranged for the most part by the deceased, after he was last taken ill, but in season to enable him to express his wishes clearly and intelligently. The several speakers were designated by him, as were the bearers. It was also his request that his Masonic friends should have what was mortal of him in charge, and render the beautiful and impressive burial ritual of the Order at the grave.

In the unavoidable absence of General William F. Draper, whom he had personally asked to act as general conductor at his obsequies whenever they should take place, Mr. Eben D. Bancroft was invited to the position, the duties of which were discharged with admirable quietude, system, and efficiency. The bearers were Messrs. A. B. Edmunds, Joseph B. Bancroft, Frank J. Dutcher, George A. Draper, and Eben S. Draper, of Hopedale, and Mr. Sullivan C. Sumner, of Milford. The body was in charge of the Montgomery Lodge A. F. and A. M. and Milford Commandery K. T., of Milford. A Masonic quartette, consisting of Dr. W. J. Clarke, of Milford, Messrs. E. B. Stowe, of Caryville, A. C. Ryder and —— Bartlett, of Boston, interspersed the exercises with most appropriate selections of vocal music, presented with exquisite and heart-touching effect. Rev. George S. Ball, of Upton, led in the speaking at the church, and Professor Origen B. Young presided at the organ.

At 12.45 o'clock, prayer was offered at the house by Rev. William H. Fish, then residing in Dedham, an old friend of Mr. Ballou, and one for many years intimately associated with him in ministerial, religious, and philanthropic endeavors. Soon after half past one, more public services began at the church where for so many years Mr. Ballou had officiated at the altar of Christian worship. The edifice was filled to its utmost capacity, while large numbers of people were obliged, for want of room in the auditorium, to occupy the vestibule and hall below.

The organ voluntary, given while the funeral cortége was passing in, and the vacant places were being filled, was a fitting introduction to what succeeded. An invocation was offered by the minister who was supplying the pulpit in Hopedale during the few months' foreign tour

of the pastor, Rev. Lewis G. Wilson. A sacred song by the quartette was followed by the reading of Scriptural selections, and passages from Whittier's "The Eternal Goodness."

Rev. Mr. Ball then made the

OPENING ADDRESS.

DEAR FRIENDS, — It is with conflicting emotions that I enter upon these services to-day. On the one hand it seems a day of triumph, of victory, — a fruition of hopes long cherished. Our brother, our father in Israel, has been long spared to us. He has "come down to the grave in full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in its season." Far back in his youth a great vision opened to him, changing the whole tenor of his life. Like Paul, he was not disobedient thereto. Though he went forth bearing his seed, weeping, he has gathered great sheaves into God's garner, and could repeat in retrospect the Apostle's words, "I am ready to be offered, the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness." It is a time of doubt and anxiety when one in youth sets forth on the vast ocean of life where so many dangers wait; where storms beat, and rocks, eddies, and currents deceive. But when the voyage is over, and the vessel comes into harbor richly laden, and success crowns all the labor with golden treasures, then, oh, then, ought there not to be gratitude, deep and heartfelt? Such is my emotion, on the one hand, as I speak of the brother gone. But on the other we are wont to seek, on occasions like the present, his words of comfort. How have souls all about here looked to him in seasons of sorrow for sympathy, for the uplifting of a great hope upon them, and a clear vision of a

life beyond, and never looked in vain. That voice is now hushed in death. No more shall it be heard amid our needs in the hour of suffering and affliction, and our tears fall and our song of triumph ends in a wail of sorrow.

But let us not forget that even the grave bears not away all. There is a life of soul above its reach. Let memory hold its living power still. Let souls commune, and even the dead shall speak.

And first there rises, at the recall, a beautiful simplicity that marks this life. How great was the impulse that sent forth this character on its mission! How luminous the vision that consecrated that long life of love in his chosen profession! Simplicity marks God's work. We can believe all that Paul portrays as the result of faith. The call came. The vision opened such a view of the character of God, such ineffable beauty, that he was ever after drawn to Him as the All-Father. Not far away, but present, for "in Him we live, and move, and have our being." The Father of all, hence one family tie binds all spirits together. It was this Christian idea of the mutual relation between God and man that entranced and inspired his soul, — from this came his consecration. How from this central thought he reasoned, argued, and led men! Christ became real to him, the elder brother and Master, "the way, the truth, the life." His ideal, so grand, was taken into life, became a power for the uplifting of humanity, for the salvation of the world, here and now. His philosophy took in all men, high and low, rich and poor. How he sought to inaugurate this life of God among men as practical Christianity, that they might make it real here and now, and be prepared for the living, loving work of eternal growth! He saw through the great Master's eyes that which ever drew him on, called him to advocate every reform, and to labor for every class and condition of mankind.

How was he thus consecrated to the anti-slavery work! What blows he struck at all those evils and sins that degrade men and lead them into bondage, that imbrute them and take away that peace and happiness which come only from obedience to the higher law of their being! His broad soul could welcome all, working to the same great ends. How faithful in all these relations! how various his calls! What tasks he performed! and through all his soul has grown, and the love that inspired him has illumed his face, given sweetness to his smile, fervor to his voice, and warmth to the grasp of his hand, that we shall bear on the tablet of our hearts as long as affections remain.

Perhaps more marked than all has been the practical outcome of his great mind and faith. Ever active, he never outran his conscience, and so has shown an example we all may welcome as a height of greatness rarely attained. He held fast the good while aspiring for the better, showing to us the sources of that power whose loss we now mourn. All this culminated in a spiritual habit that made his later life a walk with God, a commerce with the sky. Often thwarted, and apparently failing as he worked with men, he has felt a divine presence upholding him if for a moment cast down.

His own experience prepared him to speak directly to hearts overwhelmed in affliction. To him the veil of death had been pierced, the light of God shone through, the voice of Him who had brought life and immortality to light was heard proclaiming the mansions of the Father's house open to our feet. Night was changed to morning, and the eternal day for all souls dawned.

We finite beings cannot grasp the infinite, but "we can believe and trust in the darkest hours, through surprise and storm, through dread and desolation, through

life and death, and look up to God when our eyes are full of tears, and lean on his arm when all other support fails us." That is the solution of human experience. That lies behind the mystery and shines through it, irradiating it with divine glory. For so it seemeth good unto Thee, O Father.

Rev. Samuel May, of Leicester, an old anti-slavery co-laborer with Mr. Ballou, and one of his most highly prized friends, said: —

The lesson of this hour is of the worth of life, and how much may be accomplished in a single life. I am almost awe-struck in the presence of this long-protracted, now finished life, — a life devoted with such singleness of purpose, such intermitting industry, such uniform gentleness, yet such manifest force, to the highest and noblest human ends. Compare it with lives we daily look upon, spent aimlessly and weakly; still more with those spent viciously and injuriously, — compare its wise and generous activities with the self-seeking and frivolous course of many; its wealth of thought and purpose with their emptiness; its precious product with their waste. Can these so different lives all come into one category, and be classed as *human* lives, — one so full, the others so barren; one so positive and high, the others so negative and low? We understand why it is asked of the latter, "Is life worth living?" We cannot imagine its being asked of the well-ordered, high-principled, consecrated life which has just come to its close.

And how could it have closed more fittingly as to both place and time than here and now? I saw this valley of Mill River soon after Mr. Ballou first came to it, when only a few buildings stood scattered about, and he and his

little company of friends, with courage and cheerful hope, resolved to try the experiment of a society based wholly upon Christian doing and forbearing. If he did not see all his hopes fulfilled here, none can deny that, considering inevitable human limitations and difficulties, he did see a great success. The light of the Community which gathered in this vicinity and laid the foundations of this prosperous — may I not say model? — town shone brightly through this region and far beyond it, and always for good. It has steadily shone here, and has sent forth disciples into other fields to inculcate the highest life of the divinest of all teachers. And we may be sure that this light will not cease to shine and guide while the memory of Adin Ballou remains, clear, simple, pure, and strong, in the hearts of men. On this spot which his faith, his zeal, his high purpose, had made sacred to him, it was most fitting that he should die and that his dust should mingle with its dust.

A life well spent! Can there be any truer, better eulogy? Could human life have a more perfect crown than to be thus sealed? An honorable life too and a happy life, — and both because it was well spent, because it was filled with the service of truth, of man, and of God. What cause of human good did he ever refuse? What service to humanity has he turned from? What divine truth has he ever feared to accept and to proclaim both by word and deed? Is a deep, living faith in those high ideas and principles which take hold of the very throne of God, in itself a rich possession, a pearl of great price? Such faith he had. Is a hopeful trust in men, in their power of progress and attainment, and in their larger and nobler future, — a hope stronger than all doubts and fears, — to be desired? Such hope was his. Is a generous sympathy, taking in all sorts and conditions

of men, ministering gladly to all sorrows and needs, encouraging all hearts, — which has patience for weakness, pity for failure, which refuses to despair of those whom God cares for, which brings its own human love to work with God's to turn the sinful from the error of their ways, — is such wide charity to be revered and sought? We can truly say, it lived in his bosom. Yes, he had all these graces, — this faith, this hope, this charity; and which of them was greatest in him it were hard to tell.

I do not know the precise time when Mr. Ballou first declared himself to be of the grand army of anti-slavery workers, — grand not in numbers, but in its principles, in its aims, in the spirit of moral courage and self-sacrifice, which inspired it and held it together. I *do* know that it was in the very early years that he took his place in that warfare, standing strong and firm as a good soldier of God, in line with its most outspoken advocates, its most earnest friends, giving to that cause, though then "everywhere spoken against," his unqualified adherence, the influence of his pulpit, the force of his mental training and of his earnest, searching speech, and, better than all beside, of his high personal character, his generous sympathy, his clear and true conscience. . . . Had the American pulpit, with a proper loyalty to the gospel it professed to teach, with a general accord, and with a courage and Christlike mind such as Mr. Ballou manifested, lifted up its voice against slavery, we should have been saved a thousand evils, and in all human probability, the long and destructive war, with its costly sacrifice of life and substance, would have been averted.

The departure of this dear friend enlarges that "cloud of witnesses" by which "we are compassed about." As he passes out of sight and joins that "innumerable company" of which the sacred writers tell us in so many a

glowing figure, with so many a lofty and inspiring phrase, we feel sensibly that it becomes of greater personal interest to ourselves; that heaven is nearer; that this brief earthly life is really far less substantial and sure than we have regarded it, the spirit's life more vivid and infinitely more worthy. New motives come to us. Our purpose to lay aside every weight which holds us down is quickened. Oh, how greatly should it be quickened, till we wholly understand what manner of men we ought to be, seeing that we have had such companionship as his, seeing that we hope for it again, seeing that we are ever surrounded by this "so great a cloud of witnesses"!

May a portion of his spirit fall on us who remain. His witness for God and truth does not cease with his mortal breath. He lives to God, who will not forget his promises, and who will visit the bereaved, the lonely, the stricken, with his comforting spirit. So may his kingdom come, and his will be done "on earth, as it is in heaven."

After the beautiful rendering of "Nearer, my God, to Thee," by the quartette, Rev. Carlton A. Staples, of Lexington, who belonged to one of the families in the parish of Mr. Ballou at Mendon, and grew up to manhood under his influence, paid a most earnest and affectionate tribute to his early pastor and always revered friend. The substance of what he said was incorporated in a "Memorial" sermon preached by him at Mendon shortly afterward, extracts from which may be found on a subsequent page.

Rev. William H. Fish offered the following remarks: —

On rising to speak at this deeply impressive time, the circumstances of the occasion admonish me to let my

words be few, and I the more readily comply with this admonition, as I cherish the hope that I may have an opportunity ere long to express myself more fully than is now possible upon the life-work of our departed brother and friend, particularly upon the different and more notable periods of it familiar to me. I have probably known him intimately and associatively longer than almost any other person present, which is nearly sixty years. For fifty-three years I have been in ministerial fellowship with him, he introducing me to my first society in Millville, and taking an important part there in my ordination, which was effected by a friendly union of Restorationists and Unitarians. And to-day I certainly have good reasons for gratitude that I early came under the helpful influence of so enlightened and noble a mind and so able and efficient a teacher of that pure gospel of Christ which breathes only "peace on earth and good will" to all mankind. It is fifty-six years since I first visited him in his hospitable home in Mendon, and our parishes were so near to each other for several years that he was of great assistance to me by frequent pulpit exchanges and in various other fraternal ways. And very pleasant to me is the memory of those opening days of my public ministry, — among the happiest of my life.

As we advanced through our Practical Christian Conference to the Hopedale Community, others there were, not associatively with us, who manifested a very sympathetic and earnest interest in our movement. One of the truest and noblest of these, honored and beloved by all as both sage and saint, bade me last Sunday on what I suppose to be his dying bed,[1] to bear to Brother Ballou, whom I was about to visit, his "undying love;" but when I arrived here, I learned it was too late to deliver the mes-

[1] Reference is here made to Rev. William P. Tilden, of Milton, who has since passed away.

sage, so near was the beloved one to the confines of the eternal world whither he soon after took his way.

And that was a blessed close of a consecrated life, — a life consecrated to God and humanity in the Christ faith and spirit. The messenger which we call Death seemed to approach him in the best possible way for both himself and his beloved and devoted companion of sixty years. The first shock that came to him, rendering him helpless, and turning the light of day into darkness, was sudden, indeed, but after this prostration his life ebbed so slowly, so peacefully away, and the heavens opened so clearly and brightly to him, that the two weeks interim thoroughly fortified his afflicted and anxious wife for the change, and comforted and sustained by the divine presence and, as she believed, by the ministry of angels, she was able to say in her trusting heart, "Even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight," and now she only patiently and hopefully waits,

"Till the shadows are a little longer grown,"

to rejoin him in the heavenly home, which has for so many years been their mutual anticipation and their constant consolation and encouragement. As they have lived so long together in the spiritual as well as in the material world, confident that their dear, long-ago departed Adin Augustus was with them as a ministering presence, there must now seem to her to be but a thin veil between her and them, and that soon they will be brought together to realize their highest, dearest hopes, and the fulfillment of all the promises made to them by the various revelations of the universal Father received in filial faith and trust. So this great light, which has just ceased to shine upon us through that noble form that is presently to be laid away in the beautiful cemetery planned originally by him, will

shine henceforth in some more glorious form, wherein the pure spirit will enjoy a happiness that "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of mortal man conceived." May we, dear friends, make this our hope, by living the faith which our elder and departed brother so long preached in your midst and so tenderly and impressively brought home to you in your hours of bereavement and sorrow, and may that hope be fully realized by us all, when we also shall be summoned hence.

At the conclusion of the address of Mr. Fish, Rev. William S. Heywood, the son-in-law of the deceased, read, by his particular request, the essential portions of the sermon which he had prepared some years before in anticipation of the occasion. It will be found, as it came from the writer's hand, in the concluding pages of this volume. Of this part of the service the "Milford Journal" of the same evening said: "It was most affecting. Through it [the discourse] pulsed the old-time fervor of devotion to others, of lofty ideals, of generous self-effacement that good to others might follow, so significant of the writer. The power and beauty of the periods, of a voice literally 'from out of the grave,' was indescribably touching. The tall, kindly form, the saintly, benevolent face, the modestly courageous but eloquent speech, all stood out visibly as the beautiful sentences fell from the reader's lips. At the tender farewell close, the mourning in the hearts of those present well-nigh broke restraint, and grief was unrestrainedly visible."

Rev. Mr. Staples followed in a prayer full of fervor and tender feeling, full of Christian hope and trust, thanking the Giver of all good for the great and noble life now come to its earthly close and all the good flowing out of it, and invoking upon the bereaved and all who sorrowed

for the dear friend called to some higher mansion of the Father's house, the blessings of heavenly comfort, solace, encouragement, consolation, peace. After the singing of another sacred hymn, Rev. Mr. Ball pronounced the benediction, bringing this portion of the service to a close.

Then came the leave-taking, when the large concourse of people, the relatives and family following all others, looked for the last time upon the face of the departed, calm, benignant, kindly expressive in death as in life, — as when he whose soul it reflected greeted them in friendly or social intercourse, addressed them on public occasions upon the unfailing goodness of Almighty God, the duty and beauty of the Christian character, and the sublime hopes he cherished for mankind, or came to them in hours of tribulation and bereavement with soothing, cheering, inspiring words and compassionate sympathy, to assuage their grief, and sustain and cheer their anguish-stricken hearts.

When the last lingering look of bereaved affection was given, the massive broadcloth-covered, heavily, but not gorgeously, mounted casket, emblematic of the sleeper within, was reverently closed and borne forth to the burial carriage awaiting it outside, beneath the shadow of the trees which his own strong right hand had helped to plant in the long ago, when his heart was beating strong and high with glorious hopes from God for his brother man. Thence, followed by a long procession in vehicles of varying kind and on foot, it was conveyed to the rural cemetery, "over the river, under the hill," clothed in all the loveliness of nature's midsummer garniture, as if to welcome in becoming fashion its new inhabitant to its peaceful abodes. And there in the family burial lot, where all that was mortal of the companion of his early

III.

TRIBUTES OF FRIENDS.

FROM REV. C. H. EATON, D. D.

DEAR MR. HEYWOOD, — I have heard with a sense of personal loss and loneliness of the death of your father, Rev. Adin Ballou. I am under an engagement of some months to go to Vermont at the time of the funeral, or I should certainly show my respect and love for my old pastor by being present on Friday.

I can sincerely say that in my moral and spiritual nature I owe more to Mr. Ballou than to all the ministers and men with whom I have ever come in contact. His superior allegiance to the truth, his boldness and humility, his wisdom and love, excited my admiration as a boy, and have been my constant inspiration in later life. We may say of him what Tyndall said of Faraday, "Surely, here was a strong man; but let me not forget the union of strength with sweetness in his character." We cannot regret the going home after so long, rich, holy, and helpful a life. For *him*, certainly, "to die is gain." May God help us to love him so much that we may grow to be like him, and if we may not realize his power, we may attain something of his spirit. Express my sympathy to Mrs. Ballou and to your wife, Mrs. Heywood.

Sincerely yours, C. H. EATON.

SHEFFIELD, *August* 7, 1890.

FROM HON. LATIMER W. BALLOU, WOONSOCKET, R. I.

DEAR MRS. BALLOU, — I received last week a kind letter from your son-in-law, Rev. William S. Heywood, inviting me to the funeral services of my life-long friend and your dead companion,

and regretted exceedingly my inability to do so on account of personal illness. . . . Brother Ballou was one of my earliest school-teachers, a near neighbor of my father, and though afterwards separated by our varied callings, we have been warm friends more than seventy years. . . . While I sorrow with you all for our great loss, I am grateful for the noble life, the warm friendship, and the blessings the dear departed has conferred, and the bright hope and faith he proclaimed to so many sorrowing hearts. Sincerely yours,

L. W. Ballou.

Woonsocket, *August* 11, 1890.

FROM GEN. WILLIAM F. DRAPER.

My dear Mrs. Ballou, — It is with the most profound regret that I read in the papers here of the death of Mr. Ballou. Notwithstanding his extreme age, the news came like a shock to me. I admired and respected, — nay, revered him more than any other man I ever met. To me he combined a perfectly blameless life with most extraordinary reasoning powers. I feel that he has done much to develop the best that there is in me.

Please accept my most sincere sympathy, and believe me ever your friend,

William F. Draper.

Paris, France, *August* 12, 1890.

FROM MRS. FRANCES C. COLBURN.

My dear Mrs. Heywood, — It seems very late to write a letter of sympathy for the great loss we all feel in the death of your father. . . . I have been anxiously awaiting letters, knowing that illness had overtaken the dear friend of my parents, of my childhood, and indeed of my whole life. There is scarcely an anniversary of any importance that has not been rendered sacred by the tender presence of your father. When I say I mourn with you, and shall feel a sense of personal loss when I return to my home, you know that sincerity prompts the expression. Will you express to your mother my heartfelt sympathy,

and say to her that I would be a help in time of trouble as she and her husband have been to me when the death-angel has taken away my loved ones. . . . All my family wish to be remembered, and we extend our united sympathy to you all. . . .

Affectionately yours,

FRANCES C. COLBURN.

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND, *September* 6, 1890.

FROM MRS. MARY L., WIDOW OF EBENEZER D. DRAPER.

MY DEAR MRS. BALLOU, — I was greatly shocked at the announcement in this week's "Christian Leader" of the departure of Brother Ballou, of saintly memory. My first thought was of my beloved Mr. Draper, who would not have to mourn the one he always revered and loved so tenderly, and of the happy meeting amid the innumerable throng. . . . May the sweet consolation which so often fell from your inspired husband's lips flow into your darkened life, and lift you into the light of God's infinite love, is the prayer of your sympathizing friend,

MARY L. DRAPER.

CHESTER, VT., *August* 16, 1890.

FROM FRANCIS J. GARRISON.

MY DEAR MR. HEYWOOD, — This morning's journals informed me of the death of your venerable father-in-law, and I am now in receipt of your kind note of announcement. I am afraid that it will not be practicable for me or any of my brothers to be present at the funeral services, but you and your wife need no assurance of our profound respect for Mr. Ballou, or of the regret with which, as the few surviving veterans of the anti-slavery conflict pass on to rejoin their comrades, we hear our

"Moorings to the past
Snap one by one."

Yours faithfully, FRANCIS J. GARRISON.

BOSTON, *August* 6, 1890.

FROM WILLIAM W. COOK.

VERY DEAR FRIENDS, — It was with a feeling of deep disappointment that I was forced to decide that I was not able to be with you at the funeral services of my more than Brother Ballou. . . . I am well aware that death comes to men at times with elements of profound sadness. But in this case it is not so. After so long a life of such eminent and faithful service, he had a right to be tired. We do not weep when our friends lie down to take a little rest. And we will not weep that he has entered into "the rest that remains for the people of God."

During my long acquaintance of more than fifty years, I have seen him in many trying situations, and . . . I can truly say that I consider him one of the most Christian men I ever knew. I thank him to-day for the influence which, under God, he has exerted upon my whole mature life. And with heartfelt sincerity I write, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, for they rest from their labors, and their works do follow them."

Truly your friend,

WILLIAM W. COOK.

HAYDEN ROW, *August*, 1890.

FROM REV. SAMUEL MAY.

DEAR MRS. HEYWOOD, — Accept my thanks for your very kind letter, and also to your mother who appears in it equally with yourself. I am thankful, indeed, that my tribute to your dear father [at the funeral] is approved by you both and by Mr. Heywood. The gathering of people on that day was the principal tribute, — with the strong unanimous sentiment which moved them all and filled the atmosphere. It was a sight to witness as I left the church, finding an even greater throng outside, apparently, than that which filled the edifice, with the double lines of carriages of all kinds extending far beyond the church doors. Mere popularity is of little account, but the esteem and affection felt for your father had a sure and deep foundation in solid traits of character, — traits of courage, of sincerity, of manliness, of genuine good will, of habitual self-control, of solid good

sense; and it is a fact honorable to human nature, that it should so generally, we might say universally, and so deeply, recognize those traits of character and the large fine individual manhood which they united to make. They will form a perpetual halo of light and love around his memory.

With my kindest regards, etc., I am affectionately, your friend,

SAMUEL MAY.

LEICESTER, *September* 20, 1890.

FROM REV. LEWIS G. WILSON.

Closing paragraphs of a sermon from the text, "The strength of the hills is his also," delivered at Hopedale, September 14, 1890.

What a great good fortune it has been to us all that we have so long dwelt near him whose vacant place fills us with grief, even in the midst of our gratitude! How like some great mountain of spiritual strength he has been these many years! Like a white-crowned hill, he towered above us, and to be near him was to feel safe, and in our trouble to gain courage to go on our way cheerfully trusting in the Father in whom he trusted.

The strength of the hills was his, but it was his because he went up to their summits, as his Master did. There he prayed, there he labored with the hard and knotted problems of life, there he received and brought down to hundreds of waiting and expectant hearts the consolations of a changeless love.

If such a life, filled with such a power, does not have its weight with us and linger in our memory as a constant inspiration of faith and reminder of duty, then are we pitifully weak and thoughtless. But such will not be the case. We shall go forth and labor to realize his ideal of brotherly love and peace, — the fundamental principles of Christianity.

Those bright summits which he saw in his prayers, those angels with whom he communed across the silent sea, those star-fretted heavens into whose realms his spirit has been welcome, — we will think on these things and tell them to our children, while we do good service in the name of God, in the name of Christ, and in the name of humanity.

FROM REV. CARLTON A. STAPLES.

Extracts from a discourse given in the Unitarian Church, Mendon, August 24, 1890, and afterwards printed at the request of his hearers.

In Memoriam.

"When the ear heard me, then it blessed me; and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me. . . . The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me." — *Job* xxix. 11, 13.

It is now nearly sixty years since Adin Ballou, then a young man less than thirty years of age, was installed in this house, as the minister of the society worshiping here. He had been preaching then for ten years, having entered his profession when barely eighteen, and had already attained popularity as an interesting and eloquent preacher. . . .

Into the town life he entered heartily; he was in sympathy with its people in their struggles, sufferings, and sorrows, and their friend and counselor in the experiences of life. He soon won their confidence and their love. He delighted to talk with them upon their affairs, their opinions, and their hopes. He made himself one with them in their homes, at their work, in their afflictions and their joys. A kindly, genial, courteous man, who never held himself above anybody, black or white, saint or sinner, poor or rich, who had a cordial greeting for every one whom he met on the street, and who was as ready to stop and talk with a bronzed, rugged farmer or his son and daughter as with the finest gentleman and lady of the town, it is no wonder that the whole population were drawn to him, and gave him their sincere respect and affection. His beaming face, his pleasing manner, his soft, musical voice, his interest in the humblest people, and his readiness to help and encourage all who were in want and trouble, opened the way to everybody's heart. The children and the young men and women were his sincere friends, drawn to him and held fast by his friendly spirit toward them and his devotion to their good. He impressed their minds with moral and religious truths. He awakened an ambition in them to do and to be something worthy of their opportunities, an

honor and a blessing to their fellow-men and their country. The influence of his teaching and of his spirit did much to mould their characters and cheer and elevate their lives. To many of them he has been a power for good in all the subsequent journey of life; and to their dying day they will remember him as the gentle, persuasive teacher and faithful friend, who first turned their thoughts toward God as our loving Father, Jesus as our faithful Guide, and Heaven as our eternal home.

Mr. Ballou soon became popular with the society and influential in the town. As a preacher, he was interesting, forcible, practical, and often eloquent. Of a logical mind, strong reasoning powers, tender feelings, and a devout spirit, he moved, convinced, and uplifted his congregation. This meeting-house was usually filled with interested worshipers, who came from all parts of the town and from neighboring towns, attracted by the fervor and power of his pulpit services. As I recall my earliest impressions of the families belonging to the congregation, it appears to have embraced a great majority of the people in the North Parish. The pews on the floor and in the galleries seemed to be all occupied, and the Sunday-school children filled the seats extending on both sides from the choir. It was a congregation of men and women who appreciated the best that the minister had to give. They were thoughtful and attentive listeners, and they carried away the most notable things in the sermon to think of and talk about during the week. Mr. Ballou was a preacher who brought home to his hearers the great truths of religion and the duties of life in a way that people understood, illustrated them with facts and stories often homely, but pungent and moving, appealed to the reason, the conscience, and the heart with convincing power. His themes were not far removed from the common experience; they touched the great issues of life and questions of individual and social well-being. He had an impressive manner, a fine, commanding presence, a voice of singular pathos and sweetness. It was a pleasure to look at the man and follow his discourse. I suppose the first five years of his ministry here were the p[illegible]est popu-

larity as a preacher. The congregation was large, united, proud of its minister; and he was winning new admirers and friends in the adjoining towns. Through his paper, his lecturing and preaching, he gained a wide influence in this portion of the State, and made a reputation as a controversialist, writer, and preacher, which might well have satisfied his ambition. Thus the prospect of a long, prosperous, and peaceful pastorate seemed open before him. Few ministers at his age had achieved so enviable a reputation.

. . . . . .

The last years of Mr. Ballou's ministry here were undoubtedly years of discouragement and trial. But he bore himself patiently and cheerfully under them, and acted in the spirit of a Christian and a gentleman toward all. No reasonable man could doubt his sincerity, his purity of motive, his singleness of aim, his kindness of heart. And when his ministry closed in 1842, there were few who could say, "We are glad that he is going." He left warm and devoted friends in almost every home, — young people who looked up to him with the trust and love of children for a wise and good father, men and women in every walk of life to whom he had been kind and helpful, whose sorrow he had shared and comforted, whose hope and faith he had strengthened, whose lives he had made more bright and happy, — friends who never ceased to look to him for comfort and heart-cheer in the dark and troubled hours, and who never looked in vain.

Forty-eight years of life remained to him after his connection with this society as pastor came to an end. Of this long period of work and care, of heavy responsibilities, of bitter disappointments, yet of useful labors and of large achievements, I can speak only very briefly. . . . What good cause, however unpopular, what cause founded on justice, on purity, on Christian truth and love, did he not engage in, and help forward by word and deed and influence? None such ever appealed to him in vain. He was a brave, fearless soldier in the battle for truth and righteousness; and he never shrank from any sacrifice of

personal advantage to do his duty toward God and man. Of untiring industry, he accomplished an amount of difficult and disagreeable literary work such as few ever attempt and fewer ever finish; and he ceased not until almost fourscore and ten years had been reached. Nothing could turn him aside from his purpose and the task before him. Of firm Christian faith, he sought to embody its principles and its spirit in the institutions of society, and make them the guide of human conduct and the basis of character. The gospel of Christ and above all the spirit of Christ were to him the final court of appeal, before which all institutions, all enterprises, all lives, must be brought for judgment, and approved or condemned as they harmonized or antagonized them. He rested in the faith that the immutable right and good were brought to men in the Christian revelation, and before it man should bow in obedience and love.

But one word more needs to be spoken. He was a man of large and tender sympathies, of a kind and generous heart, and that brought him near to other hearts. Few men ever won the love of so many people, in all classes and in all conditions. They knew him to be their friend, they found him to be their helper and comforter. He spake to the heart, because he spake from the heart, of God, and heaven, and eternal life. Invisible things were real to him: he lived much with them and in them, and when he spoke of them, it strengthened human faith and comforted human sorrow. There are few homes in this town and in many adjoining towns where he was not known, and where his voice and presence are not associated with the most solemn and the most joyous occasions of life, and where he is not remembered gratefully and lovingly; and many there are, scattered far and wide in our country, who remember words of his that touched their hearts and kindled some higher purpose, some nobler ambition, or some kinder feeling. And many there are who have forgotten his words, but are conscious, nevertheless, that his influence has given their lives a worthier made their characters brighter and better. "Let death of the righteous, and let my last end be like

prayer of an ancient man, as recorded in the Bible. It is a beautiful prayer. So we would all meet death at last. But to die in the peace and assurance of the righteous, man must live in his faith, in his devotion to what is right and good, loving and serving God, walking in the sweet ways of charity and holiness. Thus I believe Adin Ballou lived, — a righteous man, a Christian man, the faithful servant of God, the friend and helper of his fellow-beings. He died in peace, honored and loved; and his name and influence will long remain to bless the world.

FROM THE HOPEDALE PARISH.

Whereas, In the Providence of God the Hopedale Parish has, in the decease of the Rev. Adin Ballou, lost the founder of this community, a valued friend, a wise counselor, a comforter in bereavement, and in all things a spiritual father, therefore be it

Resolved, That his life has always been, and the memory of it must continue to be, to ourselves and to our children, an example of noble allegiance to the truth, of unequivocal integrity, and of the faith which knows neither fear nor doubt; that his presence for many years has been an inspiration to the highest life and thought; that in his decease we have lost one who merited the love which thousands were glad to accord him; and that while we are deeply grieved at his departure into that realm where all who loved and knew him shall seek his presence again, we can never cease to be grateful that such a life has been spent in our midst.

GEO. O. HATCH,
G. W. KNIGHT,
GEO. A. DRAPER,
E. S. STIMPSON,
F. J. DUTCHER,
For the Parish.

FROM THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH, WOONSOCKET, R. I.

BY ITS PASTOR.

DEAR MR. HEYWOOD, — At a meeting of our church held Monday evening, July 28, the severe and possibly final illness

of Rev. Adin Ballou was reported. At the mention of the fact, all our hearts were touched with deep sorrow, for his name has been a household word in our homes for three quarters of a century, and none knew him but to respect and love him. Many were the kind words spoken, and many the sacred memories of the past rehearsed.

It was voted to spread upon our Records the expression of our loving esteem for, and our deep sympathy with, the faithful servant of God and our dear friend lying so very ill at his home in Hopedale, with the prayer that, if it were possible, he might yet longer be spared to us and to the world; but, if not possible, then God's will be done, — commending him to the Father whom he loved, and to the great company in the immortal life whom he had blessed. The pastor was requested, if he could make it convenient, to carry this expression and message of love in person to Mr. Ballou.

We have inscribed in our Records a brief biography with an account of his funeral. We feel that we owed it to him and that the whole community owes it to him, to recognize the great service to a reasonable religion and a righteous life he rendered in his long years of residence in the vicinity. We congratulate the widow and all your family that you have such precious memories of your departed one. Surely, if ever the words of the Psalmist were appropriate they are in his case: "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints." "They go down to the grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season." He had made royal all of this life, and was ripe for the better world beyond. My field of labor for these twenty years has been especially fragrant with the names of Rev. John Boyden and his beloved neighbor and life-long friend, Rev. Adin Ballou. I shall never cease to be grateful to them. "They labored and we are entered into their labors."

"Only the actions of the just
Smell sweet and blossom in the dust."

Yours very truly, CHARLES J. WHITE.

WOONSOCKET, *October* 9, 1890.

FROM THE WORCESTER CONFERENCE.

At the autumn meeting of the Worcester Conference of Unitarian and other Christian churches for the year 1890, held at Templeton, the opening session on Thursday morning, October 2, was devoted to an appropriate service in memory of Rev. Adin Ballou, of Hopedale. Rev. A. F. Bailey, of Barre, who had charge of the exercises, spoke of the happy influence exerted upon his mind and character by the writings of Mr. Ballou, although he had never been privileged to see the author. Rev. George W. Stacey, of Milford, alluded very feelingly to his long association with the departed, and to the loneliness and sense of loss experienced since he passed away. Rev. A. S. Garver, of Worcester, the successor of Mr. Ballou in the Hopedale pastorate, and Rev. Grindall Reynolds, of Boston, secretary of the American Unitarian Association, paid tender and impressive tributes to the disinterested spirit, eminent virtues, and noble work of him whose passing away touched with a sacred grief so many hearts. At the close of the several personal testimonials, the following resolution, offered by Rev. Mr. Stacey, was unanimously passed: —

"The recent departure of our revered brother, Rev. Adin Ballou, of Hopedale, to mansions of glorious rest, is indeed remembered with widespread grief. His was a well-spent life, — a life devoted to the cause of practical Christianity, based on the enthusiasm of humanity; a life ever helpful in advancing righteousness as required by the precepts and illustrated by the example of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Master; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the Worcester Conference would tender their fraternal love to his afflicted widow and daughter, and to the widespread circle of those who mourn his loss, and who 'sorrow most of all that they shall see his face no more.'"

FROM THE WORCESTER CO. COMMANDERY K. T.

In Memoriam.

REV. SIR ADIN BALLOU.

This worthy man, exemplary citizen, and Christian Knight Templar, was born in Cumberland, R. I., April 23, 1803; made a Master Mason in Charity Lodge, Mendon, Mass. (now dormant), September 8, 1824, and elected its Worshipful Master in 1826, thus receiving the degrees of our venerable Order during the year of his majority, and becoming the presiding officer of his Lodge when but twenty-three years of age.

He was exalted a Royal Arch Mason in Mt. Lebanon Chapter in Medway (now located at Milford), in 1825; created a Knight Templar in Worcester Co. Encampment in Holden (now Commandery and located at Worcester), September 15, 1825, and September 7, 1871, this body elected him an Honorary Member. He was, in years and membership, the oldest member of our Commandery.

After the establishment and organization of the various grades of Masonry in Milford, he was made an Honorary Member of Milford Commandery in 1860, and of Montgomery Lodge in 1888.

Brother and Sir Knight Ballou was an earnest believer in Masonry, and his last public service was to the assembled brethren of the 29th Masonic District, Sunday evening, June 29, 1890, when he offered a most fervent prayer at the close of the exercises. He was widely known, and where best known was loved and respected.

His life was long, peaceful, busy, and useful, — kind in action, gentle in speech, and agreeable in manner, never making enemies, but always gaining friends. He was a man of commanding presence, and his pleasant smile and kindly words greeted every one, and won all to a mutual friendship. This is but a faint picture of a noble man and a Christian gentleman and Knight Templar, who was honored and respected in life, and now sincerely lamented in death.

FROM THE UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION.

At a stated meeting of the Executive Committee of the Universal Peace Union held 10th mo. 6th, 1890, it was

Resolved, That the information we have received of the decease of our Vice-President, Rev. Adin Ballou, of Hopedale, Mass., causes a sorrow to cover us that is only lifted by the knowledge that his long life of nearly eighty-eight years has been devoted to the purest principles of true peace, and that he has left us a legacy of more worth than can be computed in silver or gold. As one of the founders of the Universal Peace Union, having been present at the preliminary meeting in 1865, and at the organization of the society in 1866, and continuing with us in spirit ever since; sending us occasional letters of encouragement, and always living the very incarnation of peace, we testify to his high worth, and feel we have cause of thankfulness that we had so faithful an officer to labor with us. We sincerely tender to his family our profound love and sympathy, and request our editors of the "Peacemaker" to publish some account of his valuable life, and our secretary to forward a copy of this resolution to his family.

JOHN J. LYTLE, *Sec.*

PHILADELPHIA, 10*th mo.* 17*th*, 1890.

IV.

TRIBUTES OF THE PRESS.

KINDLY appreciative obituaries of Mr. Ballou appeared in numerous public journals at the time of his decease, from which brief extracts, relating chiefly to the man and his work, have been taken, omitting the usually accompanying sketches of his life, and avoiding repetition as far as possible.

MILFORD JOURNAL.

"Early this morning, about 4.45 o'clock, Rev. Adin Ballou, the venerable clergyman of Hopedale, passed beneath that entrance called Death into Life Eternal, without pain or reluctance, as peacefully as the sunset leaves the western sky. . . . For days, this had been foreseen by himself as well as by his family and friends, and he met it with an unaffected gladness, as he might greet a newly found, dear friend. His life was gentle, and the elements so mixed in him that nature might stand up and say to all the world, *This is a man.*

"It is doubtful if in all New England there is another clergyman who has entered so many homes as a comforter, to whom it was given to personate so becomingly the loveliness of eternal truths. About his ministrations clustered the spiritual lives of thousands; under his tender offices grew the solemn links of life, — the hours of birth, the hours of christening, of marriage, and of mourning, until his mild presence breathed a perpetual benediction and his steps brought peace. Few in all this section there are but have known his tender offices, whether the hour was of nuptial joy, of tremulous rejoicing for nativity, of life dedication in uprightness, or binding the hearts of bereaved mourners in the hour of desolation.

"A gentle minister to all grief, a partaker of all homely joy, he is a part of the innermost life of thousands like a sacred experience, something to remember and revere.

"The last time Mr. Ballou appeared in public was on Sunday, June 29, at the Masonic observances in Milford Music Hall, when he made a most impressive and appropriate prayer, the fervency of which was much commented on at the time."

MILFORD GAZETTE.

"Early Tuesday morning, Rev. Adin Ballou, widely known for his many virtues, died at his home in Hopedale, after an illness of only two weeks' duration. . . . His was a busy life. Aside from his ministerial duties, he devoted considerable attention to literature, was the author of several books, including a history of the town of Milford and a genealogy of the Ballou family in America, besides various pamphlets and tracts.

"He was a man of simple habits and quiet tastes, large-hearted and full of sympathy, rejoicing with the happy, comforting the sorrow-stricken. His friends are legion, and to those in whose joys and griefs he has shared, his departure is a heavy loss. His aged and enfeebled wife and his daughter, Mrs. Heywood, are by his death drawn nearer to the hearts of their sorrowing friends."

BOSTON HERALD.

"The late Adin Ballou . . . grew up with such scanty advantages as could be secured in a plain New England home and at the district school. . . . From the first he was a person of mark. He was large for his age, uncommonly advanced in thoughtfulness, and reached at a bound the mature decisions which belong to people of ripe years. His tendency from the first was toward religious thinking and living. . . .

"This [the period of the ministry of Mr. Ballou at Milford and Mendon] was the great seething time in New England. It was first the breaking away of Unitarians and Universalists from the Orthodox Church; then it was a stirring up of the community by various reform movements directed against sla-

very, intemperance, and other evils. Mr. Ballou was a leader in this work from the first. He had in him the self-confidence, the burning enthusiasm, the fearless self-assertion, the irresistible impulse, which constitute a natural leader of society, and though he exercised his gifts without the aid of a distinguished position, he was early known as one of the strongest agitators in a community that was as full of reform ideas as an egg is full of meat.

"The intensity and diversity of the intellectual and moral movement which was making itself felt in New England, and particularly in Massachusetts, about the year 1840, can hardly be understood by the present generation. . . . Everything was in the air. All the odd and strange notions which human beings could be supposed to entertain found constant expression amid the great reform movements which the leaders were pushing forward. On the one side, it was not possible to see anything but individual idiosyncrasies; on the other, there was a strong demand for the organization of individuals into communities. . . . Mr. Adin Ballou was one of the interested believers in the new form of associationism, and he had seen too little of the practical development of Christian communism in the Christian Church to feel that, within its existing limits, the higher forms of social life could be developed and maintained. He wished to try the experiment for himself, and in the spring of 1842, he secured an extensive domain in the town of Milford in this State, and there, with the aid of others, organized what has since been known as the Hopedale Community. . . . He had matured his plan after long and constant study of the different systems for renewing civil society which were in vogue at that time, and he had such an original mind, and had gone so far into the foundation of things, that his own social scheme took shape from his own liberal and devising brain. . . . What he contemplated was nothing less than a new incarnation of the spirit of Jesus Christ in community life. What he aimed at was to institute and consolidate a true order of human society, in which all individual interests should be harmonized for the com-

mon good, and be controlled by divine principles as their supreme law. . . . In the statement of these principles, Mr. Ballou was a happy optimist. He inculcated the existence of one Infinite God, his mediatorial manifestation through Jesus Christ, the doctrine of a perfect divine retribution, the necessity of spiritual regeneration, and the final universal triumph of good over evil.

"What is remarkable in Mr. Ballou's work is that he gave it a distinctive religious purpose and character. He did not expect to reform people unless he controlled their spiritual life, and the religious direction of the community was the principle to which everything else was subordinated. He also insisted that the family life should be maintained in its purest and best possible forms.

"Mr. Ballou was as tall as Mr. Alcott, and was a man of similar physical appearance [?]. He had a large, well-balanced head, a clear, bright eye, a winning and expressive face. He was always able to suit his conversation to the person talking with him. He had an inexhaustible gift of common sense. He naturally attracted people to him. He was one of the people himself, and yet when he was with his intellectual peers he did not suffer by comparison with them. He had habitual cheerfulness. . . . The cheerful good nature with which some personal matters were spoken of (in an interview of some years ago) was the best indication to the writer of the sanity and broad wisdom and beautiful serenity which had made Adin Ballou, for half his lifetime, the beloved leader in the religious and social life of the community whose respect and affection he carried with him into the eternal world.

"Next to Bronson Alcott, Adin Ballou was one of the most remarkable self-made men that New England has ever produced. He belonged to the century. . . . He was the product of the spirit of associationism or community life, permeated and guided by Christian principles, which was in its day an attempt to realize the larger mission of the Christian Church through a social unity.

"He was a man of charming simplicity of manner, of firm

yet childlike faith, of keen and natural intellectual force, and of unusual contentment of mind and spirit. . . . He was a Christian Socialist more than a decade before Maurice and Kingsley and Hughes began that movement in England, and one of a high and pure type which men are attemping to realize to-day. . . . It was his misfortune to live and think at a time when the world was not yet ready for his services in the form in which he desired to render them, but as one of the strong personal forces in our practical yet speculative New England life, he was as distinct an incarnation of the spirit of the forefathers as Cotton Mather, or Sam Adams, or Ralph Waldo Emerson."

BOSTON JOURNAL.

"Rev. Adin Ballou, who died at his home in Hopedale, Mass., Tuesday morning, was widely known, and where best known was loved and respected. His life was long, peaceful, busy, and useful, and he probably leaves not an enemy behind, as he had not one in life. He was kind in action, gentle in speech, agreeable in manner. . . . His kindly words of wisdom and advice have truly gained for him the title of Father Ballou. Entering so many families in time of trouble and in time of joy, he has gained the hearts of many people who in his death will feel a personal loss. Many are the families that he has married and buried unto the third generation, and perhaps the fourth. Probably no other Protestant clergyman has such a record.

"He was a strong anti-slavery man, a firm advocate of temperance, and a man of peace in all the walks of life. . . . He was of commanding presence, benignant countenance, and his kindly smile greeted every one and won all hearts."

WOONSOCKET EVENING REPORTER.

"With many another one the writer has read with sympathetic interest the items that have appeared during the past two weeks in the 'Reporter,' concerning the illness of Rev. Adin Ballou, of Hopedale, Mass. . . . There has been a heartfelt desire that one who has been so long a public character, and tenderly

and dearly beloved in his own and surrounding towns, yea in many a State, might, if consistent with the good Father's will, be spared to complete the work he had in hand, and tarry yet a little longer to minister to bereaved hearts and perform those kindly offices for which he has been long and favorably known, and which endeared him to the homes and hearts of many who differed from him widely as to matters pertaining to religion. But it was ordered otherwise; and I have just read that the end of the good man's well-rounded life has come: he has reached the 'wayside inn where toil ceases and rest begins,' and on the morrow, the grave will close over one who had been into more homes to stand between the living and the dead, than perhaps any man who performed like service in this or any other land.

"Much of Mr. Ballou's life is familiar to the elderly residents of Woonsocket, some of whom were bound to him by ties of kinship, and by the still stronger ties of personal friendship which dated back to their early years. . . . Men and women there are who have cared not for what they may have deemed his peculiar religious tenets, who will be ready to repeat as they recall his life, 'Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him.' He was hopeful as to the future, and believed 'God would divide kingdoms with no one.' . . . He grew old in years, but still kept himself young by his sympathies with mankind. . . . He had a large heart, and could readily write to all the feeling expressed for me and mine, — 'Wishing you and all dear to you the All Father's abundant benediction in time and eternity, I remain fraternally yours.' 'May his spirit be heir to the land that knows no sorrow.'

"Daniel A. Cook.

"Providence, *August* 7, 1890."

HUDSON ENTERPRISE.

"Adin Ballou! How familiar the name to those identified with the stern old anti-slavery conflict. Ever among the foremost, ever ready with voice and pen, how brave his work for humanity and freedom!

"How well the writer recalls his genial face and kindly manner when occasionally filling the desk in old 'Freedom Hall,' the basement room of the School Street house, then occupied by the germ organization of the present Unitarian society. His eloquence, close reasoning, and profound logic, always assured an attentive and well-pleased audience.

"They are passing away one by one, the brave band whose stern conflict with slavery shook our government to its centre, ending only when, through the terrible chastisement of war, every yoke was broken, and the clank of fetters passed away forever. They gave their lives freely to the work, facing mob and martyrdom willingly, yielding only when through death, —

> "Their brave hearts breaking slow
> Yet self-forgetful to the last,
> With words of cheer and bugle blow,
> Their breath into the darkness passed.

"ASA F. HALL.

"HUDSON, *August* 6, 1890."

BANNER OF LIGHT.

"Rev. Adin Ballou, whose pilgrimage of eighty-seven years on earth terminated on the 5th of this month at Hopedale in this State, . . . merits more than a passing notice in these columns at this time. . . . He commenced when quite young to work out the mission of his life, which was evidently to enlighten his fellow-men on spiritual things. . . . When seventeen he preached a sermon to his young companions, and at eighteen formally adopted the ministry as his profession.

"From 1831 to 1842 he was pastor of a church in Mendon, where his literary and controversial labors may be spoken of as

incessant, for aside from his theological warfare he assailed every species of society evil — intemperance, war, slavery, business dishonesty, etc. — with all the vigorous ability of voice and pen.

"As might be expected of a man of his liberal views and honesty of purpose in his profession, Mr. Ballou availed himself of the earliest opportunities that presented themselves to investigate the claims of Modern Spiritualism. The result was, that he soon received indubitable evidence that those claims rested on a sure foundation, and that the veil, which had long been suspended between this and the life beyond, had indeed been rent asunder, and immortality had become to mankind an assured fact. Firmly convinced of this he wrote in 1852, and Bela Marsh of this city published, a volume of 256 pages, entitled: 'An Exposition of Views Respecting the Principal Facts, Causes, and Peculiarities Involved in Spirit Manifestations, etc.' . . . The book was a very thorough presentation of the subject, and met with a large sale. It held up the claims of the new revelation, sustained them by the results of the author's personal experience, and replied to objections forcibly and eloquently."

THE CHRISTIAN LEADER.

"The death of Adin Ballou, at venerable years, takes from earth as white a soul as ever animated a human form. In his youth an unhappy controversy led him to think it his duty to separate from the Universalist denomination, and lead in the schism known as the Restorationist Movement. In this his judgment erred, but his motive was pure. In various ways he sought to make immediately practical the unselfish life enjoined by the Divine Master; and in pursuing this end, no personal sacrifice could be large enough to dull his ardor or shake his endeavor. His memory will ever be sacred to all who knew him or shall know of him. Every righteous cause found a champion in Adin Ballou. It would be a grateful task to enumerate many particulars in illustration of this general statement.

"He was a man of great intellectual gifts, and no theory or rule satisfied his heart that did not accord with his reason. The ablest defense of Non-Resistance we ever read came from his pen, and more than forty years ago it was printed in the 'Universalist Quarterly.'

"Mr. Ballou sought by original devices to give practicality to the doctrine of doing as we would be done by. He originated the 'Christian Socialism' that was embodied in the Hopedale Community. It did not succeed; but only a man of great force and originality could have even started such a movement. It certainly had a *moral* success; it witnessed to the power of the doctrine of Christian Brotherhood when that doctrine was lodged in an earnest and consecrated soul.

"Mr. Ballou was by instinct a believer in universal salvation. His faith in the power of Divine Goodness was implicit. His logical mind could see no possibility of failure in the plan of God, — in the outcome of his saving grace. His place was in the denomination of Universalists. . . . We may regret the episode which caused him to separate from them, — we do; but we can speak for our brethren when we pay the strongest tribute to his memory.

"Mr. Ballou reached venerable years. He passed from earth loved and honored by all who knew him, and literally reverenced by the few who knew him intimately. Peace be to the ashes of the sainted dead."

CHRISTIAN REGISTER.

"Rev. Adin Ballou was a marked figure among the men of the present generation. Though he did not hold so conspicuous a place in the church as the Rev. Hosea Ballou, still he must be regarded as a force in the religious and social life of New England. His bent, even in early years, was towards religious thinking. He worked his way out of the popular religious creed and became a devoted minister of the Universalist Church. Here he soon engaged in theological discussions, taking ground against the view then taught by Thomas Whittemore and others, —

known as 'death and glory,' — and advocated the doctrine of restoration. This controversy resulted in an ecclesiastical break, and he afterwards became identified (for a time) with the Unitarians. He was an earnest abolitionist, and was associated with Garrison and other pioneers of this great struggle. He was deeply impressed with the evils of intemperance, and entered with his wonted vigor and enthusiasm into the efforts to remove this curse from the land, and also to plead for the cause of universal peace. But the chief point of interest in his life was his organization of the Hopedale Community on the basis of Christian Socialism. Kingsley, Thomas Hughes, and Maurice were at work in London, in their efforts to apply this theory, but as Mr. Ballou was an independent thinker, he wrought out his own plan. He was fully steeped in the spirit of Christian philanthropy, and he designed to make his society a practical Christian republic on the basis of the teachings of Jesus.

"But this attempt, like others of a kindred nature, was short lived. . . . Still the Christian philanthropist did not slacken in his efforts to make the spirit and truth of Jesus a fact among men. The influence of the organization upon the village life continued after the industrial conditions changed. In fact, the leading idea of his life was to make of the community a true Christian Church, — a kingdom of God on earth.

"Mr. Ballou was a man of striking personal features. He had a kindly eye and a genial face. . . . His old age was serene and beautiful. He had consecrated his life to noble ends. So when the angel voice of death came, to few would the words of Jesus, whom he loved, and whose spirit was the guide of his life, more fitly apply: 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my disciples, ye have done it unto me: Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.'"

V.

SERMON.

BY ADIN BALLOU.

Prepared as a part of the service at his own funeral.

"Moreover, I will endeavor that ye may be able, after my decease, to have these things always in remembrance." — 2 *Peter* i. 15.

PETER clearly anticipated his decease, — the time when he must put off his mortal tabernacle and be clothed upon by his immortal one. So have I, these many years. He was not so much concerned to be personally remembered after he had passed away as to have the things remembered which he had taught; for he was deeply sensible of his personal frailties and shortcomings, but knew that the doctrines, truths, and duties he had made known to men were divine. Hence the endeavor expressed in the text. And as with the Apostle in this respect, so has it been with me. With a similar endeavor, I prepared this discourse while I was yet in the flesh, and in the full possession of my mental powers, in order that it might be read at my funeral. It may seem strange to my relatives, friends, and former hearers, that I should have done so. But I felt moved to it by influences from the spiritual world as more likely to do justice to the proper demands of the occasion than might otherwise be done. Attend then to the words I have left you.

1. I thank my Heavenly Father for the hosts of kind friends he raised up to me through a long life, besides

those of my loving and precious family. He knoweth their innumerable ministrations to my comfort and welfare under all the changing vicissitudes through which I have passed, — ministrations of the near and dear within the home circle — ministrations of personal associates and friends more or less intimately connected with me in social relations — and ministrations of a more casual and general nature from thousands who knew me as a public teacher. I always desired to appreciate gratefully every favor, token of affection, and expression of respect thus conferred on me. Doubtless I fell short in many instances of doing so. But I regarded them all as flowing out, through whatever channels, from the Giver of every good and perfect gift. I know they are all in the book of his remembrance, and that whoever bestowed them at his prompting will not go unrequited. Therefore I need not enter into specifications.

2. Notwithstanding general good intentions toward God and my fellow-creatures, I have often sinned against both in ways of commission and omission. It has pleased God to make me very sensible of all these sins, to give me a humble, penitent, and contrite heart, and to assure me, a thousand times, of his forgiving grace. So of my fellow-creatures, one and all, whom in any manner I have harmed or neglected, I this day entreat their forgiveness as they themselves implore human and divine forgiveness. And I tenderly conjure my friends who think I have done any good in the world, not to eulogize me as a sinless man, or as one inherently excellent in any respect, or as being anything at best but an instrument in the divine hand, acted upon and through by a measure of wisdom and goodness above my own. For this is the absolute truth to my highest and inmost consciousness. If I had done my whole duty and come up to my best ideal of

Christlike excellence, I should have had no self-sufficiency to boast of, and only reason for profound thankfulness to the one infinite Fountain of all good. But instead of such complete dutifulness, I take to myself shame for my many sins, faults, and follies. I credit all good to God, and charge all evil to the frailty of the creature. This is the light in which I stand, and thus I wish to be represented by the friends who may remember me. Here I end what is strictly personal to myself.

3. I come now to the doctrines, principles, and duties, which I have been privileged to preach and teach. These are "not mine, but his that sent me." They are distinct from and incomparably above my mere personality. It is these that, now I am gone, I would have you keep always in remembrance. You may forget me, but do not forget them. For though I failed to work them out and illustrate them in social institutions or in the individual character of many receivers, I am sure they are from Heaven and will finally prevail. What are they? They are all both theoretical and practical. I have endeavored to preach no theological doctrine as essential to religious faith but which legitimately required of its believers great duties of essential righteousness in strict accordance with it. And on the other hand, I have preached no duty as essential to absolute righteousness which was not dictated by some great theoretical principle plain to the understanding as a sufficient ground for it. Thus I have been careful never to divorce reason and religion, the understanding and moral sentiment, faith and practice, the head and heart.

I have preached the existence of one infinite, all-perfect God, — the Supreme Divine Mind, — a self-existent, omnipresent Spirit and the Father of all intelligent finite spirits, whose love, wisdom, and power are illimitable,

faultless, and unchangeable, from and to eternity. I have not confounded this God with mindless nature, fate, or law, but held him up to the awe, confidence, and adoration of rational moral agents as perfect in all the attributes of mental personality, — governing all worlds, beings, and things, by intelligent will-power, as the infallible, supreme, free moral agent. And I have carefully avoided ever representing him as willing, purposing, or treating any one of his intelligent offspring, friend or foe, good, bad, or indifferent, otherwise than as a just, benevolent, merciful, and wise Father, in time or eternity. I have therefore steadfastly rejected and protested against all forms of the doctrine of endless punishment, and also of every kind of vindictive or unbenevolent punishment whatsoever, as morally impossible under the Divine Government, — uncompromisingly affirming that all God-given law and God-administered retribution must be in perfect accordance with his supreme and inerrable Fatherhood. On this basis I have built the whole superstructure of my ethics, accepting as unquestionable the duties of piety toward God and fraternal treatment of all fellow moral agents in the universe, according to the two great commandments, — love to God and the neighbor. I have therefore always faithfully insisted on supreme love toward the All-Father with the whole heart, mind, and strength, as a duty and privilege absolutely indispensable to the highest good of each individual soul, of human society, and the universal whole of moral intelligences. And in harmony therewith, I have preached the duties and privileges of worshiping that Father "in spirit and in truth," praying to him, thanking him as the source of all good, trusting implicitly in his providence, reverencing his laws of order, opening the soul to his inspirations, accepting his spiritual revelations, exercising repentance to-

ward him for all sins, relying on his pardoning grace, being led by his spirit, ever striving to put on his moral character, and, by his help, to be holy as he is holy, just as he is just, merciful as he is merciful, and perfect as he is perfect. Then, under the second comprehensive commandment, I have urgently insisted on the brotherhood of man and the vast neighborhood of all moral natures, and taught that each should love every other as himself and do unto every other as he would be done unto, that love to God can be proven only by love to one another, — that this love must not only be exercised toward those who love us, but toward them that hate us, toward the unthankful and evil, as God's love is, — toward our enemies and injurers, to the extent that refrains totally from rendering evil for evil, resisting evil with evil, and that consummates itself by overcoming evil with good; and also that whatsoever in us it be that hates, or seeks to harm, or knowingly does harm, even to the worst fellow moral agent, is contrary to pure love toward either God or man. I have preached and insisted on this perfect righteousness toward God and fellow moral agents, not only as an indispensable duty, but as the grandest privilege and crowning glory of the holiest souls.

I have steadfastly preached Jesus Christ and his gospel, as set forth in the Scriptures of the New Testament, — not according to the scholastic theology of the degenerate Church, — as the highest and most authoritative revelation of the All-Father's nature, will, law of order, grace, truth, regenerating dispensation, and purposed destiny of the human race. In so doing, I have placed Jesus of Nazareth where he himself claimed to have been placed by the Father, neither below nor above, ordained before the foundation of the human world, predictively promised, through the best of ancient prophets, as the

Christ-man, born in the fullness of time, plenarily anointed with the Father's holy communicable Spirit for the accomplishment of his mission, and so rendered preëminently the Son of God and Saviour of the world. I have held him up as the model man, the moral and spiritual head of the human race, saying and doing nothing of his mere selfhood, in virtue of his own inherent human attributes, but all, officially, as the chosen organ of God, in virtue of the indwelling Spirit of the Father, constantly inspiring and directing him. Therefore I have insisted that he has shown us the Father's moral perfections, his true character, will, law, and purposes; so that "God was in him reconciling the world to himself;" to which end he said, did, and suffered all that distinguished him as the Christ, and entered into the heavenly existence where he will reign in glory until "God shall be all in all." Thus placing Jesus Christ where he claimed that the Father placed him, I ascribe to him a name and authority above every other name, unto which every creature in heaven, earth, and the spirit world must bow, and "every tongue confess that he is Lord to the glory of God the Father." I have not held him up as an ordinary man. Nor as one among many other Christly men, speaking and acting from his own partially developed intuitions and aspirations, and so, at best, a fallible religious teacher, sometimes right and sometimes wrong, but as invested by the Father with infallible spiritual and moral authority over human souls in this world and the next, during his mediatorial reign. I have not ranked him with Plato, Pythagoras, Socrates, Confucius, or any of the ancient sages, or with any of the famous philosophers, poets, scientists, and literati of later times, firmly believing that by divine endowment he outranks all other human beings. With me his thoughts were God's

thoughts, his will God's will, his wisdom God's wisdom, his controlling spirit God's spirit, his word God's word, his righteousness God's righteousness, his example God's example, and his authority God's authority, to be reverenced and conformed to accordingly.

In preaching concerning the veneration due to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, I have placed them above all other human writings as intrinsically more divinely inspired and religiously excellent than any others, but I have not claimed for them anything diviner than they purport to claim for themselves on a fair interpretation. I have not put them on a level of superhuman perfection, nor confounded their higher testimonies with their evidently lower and ordinary ones, nor made the Old Testament co-equal with the New, nor construed their mere letter and verbalism to be the word of God, but have insisted that they ought to be interpreted and understood in strict accordance with their essential spirit and highest fundamental principles, — never otherwise. No mere literalism of sound or sense, no mere figurative words, phrases, or texts, have been held up by me as divine truth against declared fundamental objects, principles, and spiritual essentials, clearly ascertainable. On this ground, I have, for myself, studied, understood, and expounded the Scriptures of both Testaments, in respect to faith and practice, never sacrificing the spirit to the letter, nor a great principle of truth or duty to the mere literal phraseology of a text. Consequently, I have carefully avoided placing Moses above Christ, or the patriarchs and prophets above his chosen apostles, or the law above the Gospel, or a threatening against a promise, or a lower form of righteousness against a higher, or retribution against a destined end, or temporarily permitted evil against its final overrulement for good, or a dispensa-

tion of pain against an eternity of blessedness. After this method, I have searched, understood, and explained the Scriptures. After this method, I have ascertained to my satisfaction who and what Jesus Christ claimed to be, what his mission and authority really were, what he taught as the highest truth and righteousness, how he exemplified that truth and righteousness in the flesh, and how he still more gloriously exemplifies them in the heavens. My theology, piety, and ethics — my entire religion — have thus been determined, defined, preached, and established harmoniously.

I have not belonged to the indefinite, creedless school of religionists, always seeking and never finding the truth, groping my way through a maze of uncertainties and doubtful speculations, with unsettled convictions about this world and the future world. I have indeed been a free inquirer, but not a schooled doubter, on the gravest questions of religious concern. I have tried not to be a self-sufficient, traditional Pharisee on the one hand, nor, on the other, a self-sufficient Sadducee, too learned and proud to feel the force of evidence in support of immortality, or the existence of angels and manifestable spirits. I was and am a rational Christian Spiritualist, accepting all the reliably proven spiritual phenomena of ancient and modern times as belonging to one continuous succession of manifestations. But I have never embraced any form of spiritualism that ignored or belittled Christ, or reduced him to the grade of a mere medium for the communication of departed spirits, nor allowed myself to trust to spirit-mediums beyond good evidence of their reliability, nor to accept the teachings of the departed as infallible, nor to receive any so-called spiritual philosophy which conflicted with, or set at naught, the teachings, example, and spirit of Christ. On the contrary, I held it

my duty, and also my privilege, to "try the spirits" out of the flesh as well as those still in it, whether they were of God or mere self-deifiers. For I had no doubt that the spirit spheres are peopled with good and evil angels, with good, bad, and indifferent departed human beings corresponding to those that inhabit the realm of flesh and blood.

You know, too, that I have not been any more of an indefinitist in ethics than in theology. Non-organizationism and non-committalism were never agreeable to my reason, conscience, or taste. Having satisfied myself as to the great truths of religious faith, and the great duties of practical righteousness, I declared them, and bound myself to them by unmistakable pledges. I could not preach the Fatherhood of God, and go on just as if he might some time, somewhere, treat his creatures like a cruel despot; nor as if mankind might excusably treat him with habitual filial contempt, as millions do. I could not preach the brotherhood of man and all moral agents, and then teach them to kill, oppress, wrong, and trample one another under foot, as if only beasts. I could not apologize for chattel slavery, war, and the various customs of general society, whereby the strong, cunning, and favored classes flourish at the expense of their underlings. I could not preach that mankind were immortal spirits, all governed by their Heavenly Father by law, justly and graciously, as destined to immortal blessedness, and then look on their cruelty to each other, their intemperance, licentiousness, and all manner of debasing practices with indifference, with tacit fellowship, and no confrontment of reproof and counter-example. I could but point out their sins, call them to repentance, and above all show them by my own practice the right way, yea, the most excellent way. And this I must do, whether they would

hear or forbear, whether they would heed my counsel and example, or rush like the war horse into the battle.

And I call you to record this day, as you look for the last time on my earthly tabernacle from which I have ascended, that these things have been my chief concern during the major portion of my long life. The trumpet of my testimony has given no uncertain sound, either in precept or example. When the cause of total abstinence from intoxicating beverages came up for serious consideration, did I hide myself from responsibility, or burrow among the sophistries of apology, non-action, and non-committalism? Or was I in the front of the battle? And ever since, where have I stood but on the safe ground of unswerving fidelity to my pledge? If I have withheld my hand from attempting to drive others into temperance by penal laws, nevertheless, no one mistook which way my precept and example besought him to go. So in the anti-tobacco reform, have the old or the young mistaken my position? Have they seen me waver in my theoretical or practical testimony? If I refrained from words, did any one ever suspect my course?

When the anti-slavery agitation summoned every inhabitant of the land to protest against that horrible abomination, I could do no otherwise than respond. Yea, though all but one in a thousand were so drugged with pro-slavery as to be utterly indifferent to the wails of the downtrodden, or so maddened against the Abolitionists as to jeopardize their very lives by mobocratic outrages. The millions in bondage were no less my brethren and sisters than their oppressors. Truth was truth, justice was justice, and I could not refrain from uncompromising denunciation of such utter wrong inflicted by the strong against the weak. So I took my stand with the few against the many in those dark days.

The bloody theme of war loomed up for consideration, and I was summoned by the voice of God to decide whether I would stand for or against it. I saw that it was a vast system of manslaughter, even in its most excusable form, — unfraternal, savage, and barbarous; anti-Christian, irrational, and full of monstrous evils. I saw that it was based on the assumed rightfulness of resisting evil with evil, and overcoming deadly force with deadly force, which Christ both by precept and example unqualifiedly forbade his disciples to do even toward their worst enemies. He had laid his great regenerative axe at the root of this upas-tree, and it must be destroyed trunk and branches. I was fully convinced of this, and took my stand accordingly. Beginning where the Son of God did, I left no room for compromise with the least of its rootlets or sprigs. Starting from the divine fundamental principle of pure, universal good will, absolute love, I felt bound to go with that principle wherever it carried me, for all that it dictated, against all that it condemned. I did not allow myself to be sophisticated into any excuses for defensive war, or resorts to so-called justifiable deadly force in extreme cases, but committed myself to total abstinence from all war, preparations for war, glorifications of war, commemorations of war, and organic action involving any resorts whatsoever to deadly force against my fellow-men. I would neither be an officer, nor private, in any warlike organization, nor in any social, political, religious, or governmental organization, by which I made myself responsible for the infliction of death or injurious force on any human being. I would neither fight, vote, pray, nor give any approval of any custom, practice, or act, which contravened the law of perfect love toward God, toward my fellow moral agents, or the universal highest good. I would have no deadly weapon on my person, or in my

habitation, and held all resorts to their use (except for the destruction of animal life in proper cases) to be a hateful abomination. Thus I was an unmistakable peace man from the crown of my head to the soles of my feet. And I died without a doubt of my Christlikeness in these respects, yea, without a doubt that all men must come up to this plane of righteousness, in order to perfect safety and blessedness.

In respect to worldly property, power, and distinction, I long ago learned of Christ and became fully convinced that they ought to be entirely subordinate to the law of pure fraternal good will, perfect love toward God and fellow moral agents; that property should neither be acquired, used, nor expended, contrary to the Golden Rule, nor to the degradation, neglect, or unhappiness of any human being; that no one should consume, for personal or family gratification, more than would be his equitable share in well-ordered human society, whilst his surplus, beyond this, should be devoted in some rational way to the relief, elevation, and welfare of his needy fellow-creatures; that riches and poverty are both great evils which ought to be done away by the voluntary concurrence of all right minds, and that until this shall be accomplished property will be grossly abused to the misery of the human race. I learned also that all power and preëminence of one human being over another, however rightful or justifiable, ought to be exercised and manifested in conscientious conformity to Christ's unequivocal injunction, "He that is greatest among you let him be as the younger, and he that is chief as he that doth serve," — which exactly reverses the carnal ambition of superiors in the world, who aggrandize themselves more and more at the expense of their inferiors and exalt themselves to their degradation. Not so Christ himself; not so his true followers; and not so

ought it ever to be among human beings. The law of perfect love imperatively requires that the more talented, or wise, or rich, or gifted in any respect one is, so much the greater is his obligation to serve and help the less favored. And until this law is voluntarily and conscientiously obeyed, the strong will continue to take advantage of the weak, and superiors to prey on their inferiors to an abhorrent extent.

I have faithfully preached the ethics of this doctrine, and no less faithfully exemplified it in my practice. I have never acquired, used, or consumed property contrary to the Golden Rule. I have never exacted a high price for my services. I have never made merchandise of the gospel, nor received anything for my ministrations but what was voluntarily contributed by those who enjoyed them. I have sued no man at the law to obtain my dues. I have occupied no finer house, kept no better equipage, eaten no costlier food, worn no richer clothing, nor consumed any more for the gratification of myself and family, than would be my equitable share with all others in a well-ordered state of society. Nor in any respect wherein I was superior to others, or moved as a leader, have I ever exacted deference, or assumed airs of importance, or taxed others to support my dignity, or shirked hard labors of body or mind for the common good, but have willingly served rather than be served. What I did to found and establish a fraternal order of society in Hopedale, in which these sublime virtues might be illustrated, but in which I succeeded so poorly, I need not remind you. My aspirations, convictions, and principles never changed in respect to the fraternalization of the social conditions of men. I girdled them firmly about my heart even unto death, and they live in my bosom as a spirit forevermore. They will yet be realized in their highest excellence on earth by

devoted disciples, who will rejoice in the sacrifices necessary to insure their blessings to suffering millions. The last, best labors of my head and pen have done all in my power to prepare the way for this grand Social Reform, and my small pecuniary savings have been consecrated to its promotion. I have left the world under a very strong assurance from Heaven that a regenerate Christlike form of the Church will erelong be developed to prosecute this work, and now leave you a solemn prophecy that the coming century will witness a glorious practical consummation of the cardinal principles in behalf of which God made it my high privilege to bear testimony.

Having thus indicated the principal things which I desire you to have in remembrance, and for which I wish to be personally remembered by all my survivors, I now draw to a close. In doing so, I sincerely repeat that I claim no merit or credit for any of the truth and good illustrated through my instrumentality. God has inspired and wrought it through me. I have at best done merely my indispensable duty, and am but an unprofitable servant with no reasons for boasting, though unspeakable ones for gratitude to the Most High Father. On the other hand, I take shame and humiliation to myself for all my shortcomings. I am profoundly sensible of my unworthiness. Though my sins have mainly sprung from passional frailty, aberration of temper, misdirected appetites, and weak judgment, they have filled me with pungent sorrow and prostrated me in the dust of contrition before the throne of my Heavenly Father. I have never confirmed or excused myself in evil in his presence, but constantly confessed that his law was holy and just and good, and thanked him for all his faithful rebukes. And he has graciously responded to all my penitent con-

fessions, "Whom I love I correct." "Go, and sin no more."

I wish it also to be remembered and understood that, while I have strictly and uncompromisingly claimed that the Christ plane of truth and righteousness on which I planted myself was absolutely the highest in the moral universe, I have never denied that there was more or less truth and righteousness on lower moral planes, nor that those who occupied those lower planes were void of conscientiousness and worth in acting up to their light. I have tried to judge all by their own acknowledged moral standard, or left them to the infallible judgment of the All-perfect God. Nor have I ever allowed myself to withhold due credit for right feelings, intentions, or conduct in any human being, whatever their general moral character, knowing that on every moral level there are good, better, and best, or, contrariwise, bad, worse, and worst. Thus I have humbly endeavored, without sacrifice of truth, to be just and charitable to all mankind, always considering the force of circumstances, and making the best I could even of the worst. My prayer, in the language of the great practical poet, has been

> "Teach me to feel another's woe,
> To hide the faults I see;
> The mercy I to others show,
> That mercy show to me."

And now farewell to you all: to the nearest and dearest of kin that sit as mourners to-day; to my religious and sympathizing friends, and to all of every relationship and class who have known me during my long earthly life. I have "finished my course" and "the ministry which I received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God." I have commended my spirit to

the disposal of infinite love and wisdom, and am at rest in my appropriate mansion of the All-Father's vast house. I shall meet you again in due time on the immortal shore. Until then, I invoke on you all the richest benedictions of Heaven, and thenceforth will invoke them on you forevermore. *Amen.*

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